

Aspects of Cultural Relativity

within

Lebor Gabála Éirenn

by

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The following thesis on *Lebor Gabála Éirenn* (LGÉ) will be divided into four chapters. The first chapter contains a discussion on LGÉ and thoughts on why it was preserved, along with a re-examination of previous scholarship. The second section discusses the cultural relevance of certain elements within LGÉ as it may have existed for both pre-Christian and post-Christian Irish natives. The third chapter is a discussion about the Navajo history, culture and origin mythology. The final chapter contains a cross-cultural comparison of the Irish material, focusing primarily on the origin mythology as presented in LGÉ but also comparing relevant themes in the Irish tradition, with the origin mythology of the Navajo Native Americans.

The investigation on LGÉ utilizes Dr. R.A.S. Macalister's edited and translated edition by the Irish Text Society. The comparison material on the Navajo is their origin myth as presented by Aileen O'Bryan. I am by training an anthropologist and have used a modification of methodology one would expect when observing a culture to examine the evidence at my disposal. I have utilized some theories made popular by Franz Boas and Claude Lévi-Strauss along with theories on mythology popularized by Joseph Campbell and G. S. Kirk. However most of these theories have been blended together with additional theories of my own. My conclusions are that it is possible to see evidences of cultural beliefs within LGÉ. Yet, it is difficult to discern if they are pre-historic or medieval but that is more to do with the possible overlap in the belief system of both the pre-Christian, and the early-Christian society. It is also possible to see structures that appear to be human universals within LGÉ. A third conclusion is that the comparison shows how stagnated and manufactured LGÉ is as an origin mythology.

Declaration:

I, Tracy Marie Kopecky, hereby declare that all the work included within this Thesis has been completed by myself, as my own work. Further that I have not knowingly included any other individual's work without acknowledging the appropriate text from which it came. Finally I must acknowledge that any errors within this work are my own.

Tracy M. Kopecky

"...served by the rich confusion of Macalister's edition..."
(Scowcroft 1987: 138)

Acknowledgements:

I would like to thank all those who have assisted me in this endeavour. Special thanks to Professor William Gillies, for agreeing to take on the responsibilities of being my supervisor, and the many helpful sessions we have had discussing my thesis. Because of my own limited knowledge of Early Irish, I am also indebted to Professor Gillies for his help in checking the translations of Early Irish within this work. I, of course, bear the responsibility for any remaining misunderstandings.

I would also like to thank Mr. Alex Woolf, Barbara Hillers and Dr. Robert Ó Maolalaigh for their time and the discussions we have had about various topics pertaining to this work. They were all of great value.

Finally, I would like to thank my friends and family for being understanding through the stresses of writing a thesis. I would like to offer a special note of thanks to three people very close to me, Sabrina Berry and Kenneth J. McGowan for all their help in proof reading draft versions of this work, and Mandy Wescott for her assistance in proof reading and her cartographic assistance with the various maps that appear within.

Some Key Terms and Definitions:

Because of the interdisciplinary nature of my investigation it is expedient to set out here brief explanations of some of the terms and usages employed in this thesis.

Cultural Relevance is the principle championed by Franz Boas that, in its simplest form, states that all things must be judged through their own culture for merit or fault without any other culture's standards being applied. I agree wholeheartedly with this principle and the theory that it supports it, and attempt to use it to a greater or lesser extent in all my dealings with cultures different from my own. Note, however, that I have also used the term *cultural relevance* more specifically in the mythological context to acknowledge the way in which a trait within a mythology can demonstrate a characteristic within the culture of the people whose mythology it is.

Mythology is, as always, a problematic term to define. Within this thesis, mythology minimally refers to a body of narrative that is fictitious in nature, but is told as if it is factual, due allowance made for an element of supernatural which manifests itself in the form of heroes with superhuman powers, characters who are in some sense meant to be regarded as deities, and other unnatural phenomenon. By extension *origin mythology* is a group of narratives, with the above attributes, whose function is to tell how a certain people believed themselves to have come into being. These also include narratives that describe, to a greater or lesser extent, the coming into being of the world as experienced by the people in question.

I have also used the term *proto-creation*. This term describes actions that set the stage for, and provided (as it were) a template for a subsequent act of creation. It is best seen within the Navajo material when the sacred mountains

are created in the Third World, and subsequently re-created out of soil from the Third World mountains when First Man reaches the Fifth World.

In the same way *proto-prophecy* refers to a 'pre-echo' of prefigurement of a definitive act of prophecy that will take place at a later stage in the narrative, and in doing will reveal the *proto-prophecy* as being its prefigurement.

Sings, also known as *Chants* and *Curing Ceremonies* are sacred ceremonies in the Navajo religion. These ceremonies are performed at various times: during illnesses, purification or other breaches in *hozo* (what the Navajo consider world harmony). The Sings are used to restore individuals to *hozo* and rid them of a specified illness. I will be using the terms *Sing* and *Chants* interchangeably throughout this thesis. The individual who leads the *Sing* (all present join in the ceremony and often know several of the sections of chants) is called a *Singer*. This term refers to both medicine men and medicine women amongst the Navajo.

The following terms occurring within the Navajo sections also seem to require explanation or definition:

Anasazi: These are a prehistoric tribe that lived within the area now claimed by the Navajo, Hopi and Pueblo Nations. They are famous for the cliff dwellings they left behind. It is uncertain why these individuals left the American Southwest. Their influence on the Navajo is through the Pueblo.

Hogan: This is the Navajo term for their living structure.

Hozo: Most closely translated as 'beauty', refers to the world order in its proper state with the individual being in harmony with the surrounding world..

The Blessing Way Sing: The full nine day ceremony of the Navajo origin myth.

The Ascent & Emergence: This is a part the Navajo origin mythology which describes the journey through the various lower worlds to the current Fifth World.

The Holy People: These are originally the first four deities of the Navajo, First Man, First Woman, Great-Coyote-Who-Was-Formed-in-the-Water and First Angry (Coyote). Later this term is used more generally to signify all the supernatural entities within the Navajo mythology.

Diné: This Navajo term is used to define the people, created by the Holy Beings, who became all Native American Indians. Both this term and a variation *Dîneh* are also used by the Navajo to describe themselves. It means literally 'The People'.

Editorial Procedures and Conventions:

I have used within this thesis the 'Harvard' system of referencing as presented in the MHRA. However I would like to note the following special points:

When referencing the various sources with reprinting, the dates of the reprinted edition will be used. This requires me to clarify that Volume 4 of Macalister's version of the *Lebor Gabála Érenn* will be noted as 1987². This is because both Volume 3 and Volume 4 were reprinted in 1987.

Certain frequently cited titles are given in abbreviated form after the first occurrence. Thus the first occurrence: *Lebor Gabála Érenn* (LGE); subsequent occurrences LGÉ. When referring to LGÉ I have followed Scowcroft's in preference to Macalister's sigla, and so in use of 'recensions' to replace Macalister's 'redactions.' When discussing the different manuscripts, outside of the tables, I will follow the sigla used in Mark Scowcroft's articles.

The term 'manuscript' will be abbreviated as MS for the singular, and MSS for the plural form. Because the word processor I am using prohibits the use of the *spiritus asper*, I will use the accepted form of placing an "h" after any affected consonant.

In the Irish specific portions of this thesis, for quotations of LGÉ, I have used the ITS text as supplied by Macalister, with a small number of divergences (misprints corrected, reviewers improvements adopted). And so with other edited texts cited. Note that I have converted the raised dot or *spiritus asper* to 'h' for reasons of typographical practicality. When discussing names of people and places I have normalized to (Late) middle Irish standards with the exception of Biblical personal names and place names in common use today. For instance the Biblical Ham is within the text as 'Cham' but within this

thesis is referred to as Ham. The place names are cited first as within the text followed by their current name, and then referred to by their common name; eg *Torinis Cetni* (Tory Island).

When discussing the Navajo Nation, the spelling currently used for their name will be used unless it is within a quotation. This is the spelling preferred by the Navajo Tribal Council (Kluckhohn 1946:3). Navajo names and terms will be followed by their English translations. All Navajo stories referred to in an extended manner within this thesis will be placed in the Appendix in their English translations.

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Chapter One

Section 1: Introduction

Within this thesis I propose to conduct an investigation into the Lebor Gabála Éirenn (LGÉ) from a primarily anthropological standpoint. In the course of my investigation I plan on accomplishing three tasks. The first is to establish what can be said about the status of LGÉ and the reasons why it was preserved. This will include an appraisal of previous scholarship on the subject. The second, and by definition the core task, is to illustrate and discuss the *cultural relevance* (as defined in the Definitions section above) of certain elements within LGÉ as it may have existed for a continuing community: the 'users' of LGÉ during the period of its formation and evolution. The third task, building on the second, is to take thus identified as culturally relevant on the basis of their behaviour in LGÉ, and subject them to a cross-cultural comparison. The creation myths of the Navajo Nation have been selected for this comparison. The purpose of this comparison will be to provide a measure of control over our selection and deployment of cultural indicators, and to enable us to approach the question of culture-specific versus universal elements at this level of inquiry.

It is known to Celtic scholars that a large body of Irish literature was written down by the medieval scribes between the 7th and 12th centuries (Ford 1992: 74). It is from these scribes that we gain almost all of the learning that represents the history of Ireland. They recorded the law tracts, genealogies, church laws and annals, to native sagas and mythology from the Irish oral tradition. Not only that but it appears that the scribes attempted to reconstruct their history using all of the native lore in combination with Biblical and foreign scholarly texts (eg: Eusebius and Isidore of Seville) which, in turn, lead to the creation LGÉ.

It is important to note that the medieval Irish texts in general, and LGÉ specifically, are rarely finished products in the modern sense; sometimes we may doubt whether they were ever intended to be completed works. The applicability of this to LGÉ is twofold. First, LGÉ was, in the Middle Ages and even, in a limited way, in modern times, considered a historical document. And as such, it was in principle possible to add to it or revise it, as and when new information became available. This can be seen very clearly within LGÉ where annalistic entries have been inserted into the latter sections of *The Roll of the Kings*.

Domnall hua Briain re Tuadmuman *quieuit*, Conchobair
Moenmaige mac Rúadrí do marbad. Éc in Rúairdrí sin na
ailithri i Cunga.

Donmall ua Briain, king of North Mumu, rested; Conchobor of
Moenmag, son of Rúaidrí was slain. Death of that Rúaidrí on
his pilgrimage in Cunga. (Macalister 1995: 410-411).

The second reason we should not expect to find a fixed, definitive text of LGÉ is not unrelated to the first: LGÉ served to legitimize the different dynasties that rose to power by relating them to the Meic Míled lineage.¹ Therefore if a new dynasty were to seize power, they would need an appropriate heritage to add legitimacy to their claim and link them back to Adam. That is to say, their lineage had to be traced back to the founding fathers of the Gael; if necessary, the accounts of the founding fathers had to be adapted to make room for the ancestors of the newcomers- eg. by adding an extra brother or son to the Milesian 'pantheon'.

As a result of this activity, the text of LGÉ as we see it can be equated with a

¹ The Meic Míled are those descended from Míl, who was a warrior king descended from the nobility of Scythia and conquered Spain. Míl's sons, within the Irish tradition, are the first human conquerors of Ireland.

composite family portrait. The original depicted, as it were, a newlywed couple. Through the years, instead of having new portraits painted, the couple's children, grandchildren and all the spouses who married into the family were added onto the original family group. To continue this metaphor, it is important to stress that the recensions and all of the added glosses contained within LGÉ are not sketches for some never completed masterpiece, but rather a series of masterpieces overlaying each other, whether they supply an additional family member or merely add facets to the character of an existing member.

Any scholar who wishes to study or even read LGÉ with an English translation must, at the present time, use R.A.S. Macalister's Irish Texts Society (ITS) version as it is the fullest text with multiple recensions available in translation.² Such a scholar would have to bear in mind the less than kind reviews that have plagued this edition of LGÉ.³ It is important to acknowledge the presence of an unfortunately high level of mistranscriptions, mistranslations, etc., and to avoid following these wherever possible. Fortunately, however, many of the criticisms raised by reviewers do not have a significant impact upon this thesis, as I am more concerned with the general import of the texts than with details of manuscript reading or interpretation.

A study of the work generated by the scholars of LGÉ, all are agreed on there

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- ² R.A.S. Macalister, The Book of the Taking of Ireland, Part 1. 1993
 ----- Lebor Gabála Éirenn: The Book of the Taking of Ireland, Part 2. 1996
 ----- Lebor Gabála Éirenn: The Book of the Taking of Ireland, Part 3. 1987
 ----- Lebor Gabála Éirenn: The Book of the Taking of Ireland, Part 4. 1987
 ----- Lebor Gabála Éirenn: The Book of the Taking of Ireland, Part 5. 1995

³ The more significant reviews in question can be found in *Irish Historical Studies* 2 (1940) 89-91, *Irish Historical Studies* 2 (1941) 330-3, both by Rev. Paul Walsh; and in *Celtica* 2 pt. 1 (1952) 195-209, by D.A. Binchy.

having existed four distinct variants of the text as a whole. The 'recensions' (known as 'redactions' within Macalister) are thought to have been dated to the 12th and 13th centuries. As the manuscripts from which they evolve overlap in their accepted dating it is difficult to distinguish exactly how the tale evolved (for more on the MSS and their dates please see the tables at the end of this chapter). The text of LGÉ is also complicated in another way: by the presence of poems inserted into the narration and duplicate its content (Macalister 1993: xxiii).⁴

Within all three recensions the story in LGÉ is basically the same. There are some apparently significant structural differences; though they could have arisen scribally or by editorial tinkering of a relatively superficial sort. These differences will be addressed below. Where they involve difficulties which are pertinent to our argument they will be discussed more fully within their own sub-sections.⁵ Where all four recensions tell us the same information, I have deliberately chosen the recension that is the most clear and succinct for the section being discussed when quoting from LGÉ. If the differences between the recensions are significant then alternative readings are, of course, given. Where LGÉ is quoted directly I have included both the original Irish (basically as in Macalister's edition) and the English translations.

To assist me through the maze of Macalister's LGÉ I have also consulted R. Mark Scowcroft's masterly helpful articles '*Leabhar Gabhála* - Part I: The growth of the text' and '*Leabhar Gabhála*- Part II: The growth of the tradition' (Scowcroft 1987, 1988). An earlier work has also been a valuable asset,

⁴ Historically speaking, scholars reckon the prose is a paraphrase of the poetry. (Carey 1993)

⁵ I have omitted discussions of the poetry within LGÉ because I do not feel comfortable enough with middle Irish to translate the nuances of the language that typically exist within poetry.

which is A.G. van Hamel's '*On Lebor Gabála*' (van Hamel 1915). Both of these works are discussed in more depth in *Section 2*. These scholars have identified certain more or less self-contained episodes within LGÉ and have supplied these with names. In general I have been happy to follow Macalister's lead in this respect. Note, however, that I have distinguished three further passages of LGÉ, for ease of reference, which are not distinguished by Macalister. The passages are: *The Contention for Scythia*⁶, *The Seduction of Topa and Jealousy of Partholón*⁷, and *The Sickness of Tuirell Biceo*⁸.

As to the content of LGÉ, and more specifically its mythic content, I am keenly aware that use of the term 'myth', or any term based on it, can be misconstrued in two manners. First, it can be understood (unnecessarily so) to imply 'ancient, pre-historic, non-western' or the like. It is true that some scholars have laid stress on the pre-Christian elements in Early Irish texts; and occasionally they have done so to the (unhealthy) exclusion of synchronic elements. Equally some scholars, especially the more recent scholars, have tended to react against their predecessors and stress the synchronic elements, sometimes to the exclusion of the historical perspective⁹. LGÉ has been drawn into this debate- e.g. by the Rees brothers in *Celtic Heritage*, who emphasized traditional patterns and motifs throughout the text. For my own part, I do feel there are glimpses of hints of a previous era to be seen in LGÉ, though I would not go so far as to call it a 'Window on the Iron Age.' But the present study takes as its starting point the text of LGÉ as we have it, not as it might once have been.

⁶ Macalister 1996: 16-19, 36- 39, 64-69

⁷ Macalister 1987: 38-43

⁸ Macalister 1987²: 136-137

⁹ e.g. Kenneth Jackson's *The Oldest Irish Tradition* 1964.

The second misconception it is possible to read into 'myth' is the implication (again unnecessarily) of 'pagan' as opposed to 'Christian' doctrine or philosophy. It is true that some scholars have sought to find traces of the 'elder fathers' in Early Irish texts; indeed, the search for Celtic paganism seems to have gathered renewed strength in recent years. Again, there is a reaction, on the part of scholars who emphasize the pervasiveness of Christian teaching and a Christian consciousness in Early Irish literature, including what has generally been regarded as the secular literature of sagas and heroic tales. Again, the LGÉ has been drawn into this battle-field, in as much as it clearly owes a debt to the wanderings of the Jews and in other important respects. This question is obviously of importance to our investigation and as such will be dealt with below. It is nevertheless worth pointing out here that our approach is not dependent upon the degree of Christian or other inspiration to be discerned in LGÉ. The 'coding' through which we 'read' the elements we identify as cultural indicators would change, but their power to signify should not be affected by the strength or otherwise of the Christian dimension.

Arguments that it is impossible to see anything before the medieval period within the manuscripts have already been discussed by the late Professor Kenneth Jackson in his work, *The Oldest Irish Tradition: A Window on the Iron Age*. He argues that the tales, in his case the Ulster Cycle, '...belong to a period some centuries earlier...' (Jackson 1964: 4). I am not going to take my arguments to the extreme that Professor Jackson did. However, I do feel there is valid logic behind his arguments if set with less lofty goals of perhaps a glimpse or hint of a previous era when backed by other sources.

By looking at the treatment of culturally relevant items within the myth, I believe we can gain valuable insights to the mind-set of the creators (or re-creators, as it were) of its mythology. In the case of LGÉ we fully admit that it is difficult to determine whether a particular trait stems from the pre-Christian or the post-

Christian era. Indeed, it is equally difficult to ascertain whether it reflects the belief of the population as a whole, or that of the literati, or some intermediate group including a literate noble elite. As such is the case, I will use the term 'LGÉ culture' to identify the group -whoever they may have comprised- that was influenced by LGÉ. Looking at the cultural relevance of LGÉ should give us a view into the makeup of LGÉ culture.

This is by no means a novel approach. It finds its earliest expression in the perceptions of some of the founding fathers of modern anthropology. Thus Radin espoused the use of 'the internal evidence of such material as personal history documents and myths' as a means to building up a picture of a given culture's past history. Other scholars concurred with Radin. Franz Boas saw folklore as a reflection of 'the ordinary play of imagination on the social life of the people concerned', and Cole saw myths as offering a way to gain 'knowledge of the people's past and an insight into their mental life and values.'¹⁰

There is thus ample precedent for looking to origin myths to give important clues as to the self image of a society. Here Alfonso Ortiz is speaking specifically about the Navajo, but what he says holds true for all cultures:

While it must be remembered that there are many and widely varying stories of cosmic creation and the origin of the Navajo people, these accounts are nonetheless central to Navajo world view; indeed, they are primary statements of it. The order and character of the world and of the place of human beings in that world, including their relationships with one another and with all other living things, is defined in these stories. (Ortiz 1983: 505).

Although, there is no single anthropological theory underpinning this thesis, I have

¹⁰ The quotations are from Spencer 1947: 8-9, ie. the Introduction to her study of the Navajo which parallels my own and has been inspirational in certain ways.

drawn most significantly on the approach and thinking of some of the major figures in Cultural Anthropology. The most notable theoretical assumptions within this thesis are those of cultural relativity, as stated by Franz Boas and elaborated upon by his followers, and a form of structural-functionalism. At its simplest, this means ascertaining how the identified structures within the mythology relate to the culture that it represents. It has been necessary, of course, to adopt terms in which most anthropological theory is expressed, to suit an exploration of cultures through texts and where applicable, archaeological evidence, as opposed to the more customary practice of anthropological participant observation.

The findings and terminology of comparative mythology have also been drawn upon, most notably works by Joseph Campbell (especially Campbell 1991) and Jaan Puhvel (especially Puhvel 1987). I owe a particular debt to the critical analysis of G. S. Kirk, who has done much to elucidate both Anthropology and Mythology in his work *Myth: Its Meaning and Function in Ancient and Other Cultures* (ie. Kirk 1983).

As mentioned above, the tribal society I propose to use for the cross-cultural comparison with the medieval Irish origin mythology is the Navajo Nation of the Native Americans. There are two key reasons for selecting the Navajo. First there is no chance that the Navaho and Irish cultures have influenced each other in any direct way. The cultures of the Irish, including LGÉ culture, and the Navajo developed to their current forms on two different continents at very different times. The Navajo creation myth, the Ascent and Emergence, was recorded in 1929 by Sapir (Sapir 1942: 9) and in 1928 by O'Bryan (O'Bryan 1956). This is not to say that the Ascent and Emergence does not have a lengthy oral history like that thought of for LGÉ. Any date for the material is merely the date of the versions we have, but our testimony to it is of the present century. By contrast the poems embedded in LGÉ are dated to the 10th-11th centuries (Macalister 1993: [5]), and the text achieved its canonical form in the late 11th century (Carey

1993: 1-2), later recensions, as seen further in *Section 3* of this Chapter, date from the 13th-17th centuries. Indeed, there is further evidence that the main constituents of LGÉ existed within the Irish learned tradition as early as the 9th century (Macalister 1993: xviii, xxviii).

This brings us to the second reason for selecting the Navajo. Despite the distance, both physical and temporal, between them, the Navajo show a similar type of culture to that of the early Irish in certain significant respects. For instance, both societies were pastoral with some agriculture, clan associated, allowed for strong female figures within the literature,¹¹ and had a calendar with agriculturally based divisions. Neither culture had a village settlement pattern until outside influences made their original subsistence patterns impossible or undesirable. Also, each culture possessed a strong oral tradition and held a prominent place for storytellers within the society, especially for entertainment during the less active winter months. In short, our evidence tends to bear out the general point which Alan Harrison makes:

It is often among the culturally homogenous pastoral or hunting tribes of Africa and the Americas that we find parallels to early Irish society rather than in the more sophisticated political groupings in medieval Europe. (Harrison 1989:14-15).

We need to acknowledge some underlying assumptions that are necessary to make before embarking on a cross-cultural comparison. The first assumption is a bedrock of human 'universal' responses due solely to the state of being human. This assumption is an axiom of most anthropological theorizing; I accept it, and regard it as requiring no further comment from me. The second assumption is that similar influences on similar cultures will lead to similar effects; and conversely that similar effects, where direct influence is excluded make it reasonable to test

¹¹ The Navajo were a matrilineal society and this is portrayed within the mythology through women in positions of authority, leadership, or divinity.

for similar cultural conditions or affective processes or both. Again, this is a commonplace of research in social sciences in general. This scenario is *prima facie* applicable in regard to Early Irish and Navajo tale-telling and origin myth. Thus, while overall cultural comparison between 19th-20th century Navajo culture and 9th-11th century Irish culture would be of limited use owing to the degree of dis-similarity in their respective historical experiences and cultural makeup¹², there is a distinctly denser clustering of cultural similarities in regard to the articulation of the literary traditions and, as we shall see, in some of their products. The present study aims to explore the nature of, and reasons for, that relatively high degree of similarity¹³.

The major sources that I have used as authorities on the Navajo are: *The Navajo* by James F. Downs; Clyde Kluckhohn and Dorothea Leighton's *The Navaho*; along with the section on the Navajo from the *Handbook of North American Indians*, edited by Alfonso Ortiz. These helped me to understand the basic background and culture of the Navajo. Aileen O'Bryan's *The Dîné: Origin Myths of the Navaho Indians* and *Navaho Texts* by Edward Sapir and Harry Hoijer (eds.) are the sources for the Navajo mythology within this thesis. O'Bryan's text understandably uses only English translations of the Navajo tales. However Sapir and Hoijer's text has both English and Navajo translations along with notes from the translators and informants.

Gladys Reichard's *Navaho Religion: A Study of Symbolism* is a more analytic

¹² The external pressures of other cultures around the Irish and the Navajo differed significantly. The Navajo had a Stone Age technology and a tribal society when they came into contact with the Spanish in 1599 (Ortiz 1983: 493-94). The Irish had an Iron Age technology, and the cultures they encountered developed from tribal to state level without the violent outside influence of a significantly more advanced culture.

¹³ An illustration of this is the way in which the practice of transhumance, known as "boolying" in the Irish tradition, existed in both Irish and Navajo cultures. The previously mentioned tradition of storytelling during the winter months is another.

study of a specific aspect of Navajo culture. As Reichard included origin mythology in her study of Navajo religion, this proved useful for deciphering some of the more complex ideas in the Navajo mythology. Her work explores the meanings of the stories themselves and contains brief outlines of some Navajo tales with excerpts from the tales themselves. Finally, Katherine Spencer's *Reflection of Social Life in The Navaho Origin Myth* was helpful for many of the same reasons as Reichard's book.

Section 2: What is LGÉ?

Returning to the first task of this thesis, we need to establish a working definition of the status of LGÉ. Three ideas deserve particular attention in my view. The first is that LGÉ was intended to produce a unifying national origin myth. This view was well and succinctly stated by John Carey in his Quiggen Lecture, 'The Irish National Origin-Legend: Synthetic Pseudohistory' (published as Carey 1994). Related to this vision of its purpose is the idea that LGÉ is a reconstructed history. This view was propounded by Michael O'Brien, who considered LGÉ to be a 'reconstructed history created by learned men' and went on to substantiate his proposal by correlating the invasions of LGÉ with what he took to be the different historical population groups inhabiting the British Isles (published in Dillon 1954:37 ff.). in a similar vein Carey has suggested that parts of it appear to be a cultural memory recorded in the guise of a pseudo-history. Specifically, the Nemed and the Fir Bolg 'reflect...indigenous memories and speculation about the peopling of Ireland' (Carey 1994: 9).

The third idea and the one used as the focus for this thesis, is that LGÉ is a replacement for the pagan origin mythology that had existed in Ireland before Christianity (the Rees brothers in *Celtic Heritage* are obvious proponents of this argument). In saying this I am not discounting the validity of any other serious approach. However, I have adopted the view that the best approach for this thesis is to look at LGÉ as mythology. To take as one's starting point the questions of created versus reconstructed histories raises questions of what is factual within LGÉ. But since the question of factual historicity does not necessarily have any meaning when applied to cultural behaviour it cannot be of primary importance to this thesis. I will not be claiming that all or part of LGÉ is historical in the strict sense, nor will I be claiming that any of it is not. In the same way, I am free from the need to engage in the ultimately hopeless quest to delve into the biases of the writers of history and approach the ideal

of factually "correct" history. On the contrary, I will be treating LGÉ as a story. As with every other fictional story, whether it is based on reality or not, it requires a suspension of disbelief by its audience. A story only needs to be faithful to the reality it is trying to represent and create. This LGÉ does accomplish.

Although the classification of LGÉ within this thesis is as a fictional work within the Early Irish literature (as opposed to annals or law tracts), the LGÉ cannot so simply be labeled. There are noticeable differences between LGÉ and other fictional tales. After reading a selection of these tales one is struck by the linguistic and stylistic plainness of typical prose sections of LGÉ.¹⁴ This lack of detail and colouring leads me to wonder if the compilers of LGÉ were collecting oral traditions, as an act of preservation, in an outline form that still allowed for elaboration in the detail of the narratives. This type of outline would perhaps have included specific "factual" points (i.e., genealogies and lengths of king's reigns) to keep these details intact, yet allowing the 'bones of the story' to be embroidered upon. This would have allowed bardic poets and storytellers to add their own embellishments when reciting a section of the tale, yet while others could learn the same text in outline form, and have the same freedom to add their own embellishments. One might further ask if it could be a concern that our compilers were facing a dearth of knowledgeable storytellers, and adopted this plain style in an attempt to preserve their native heritage that they saw as endangered? Unfortunately, these questions are beyond the scope of this thesis.

To revert to our main proposition, it is worth asking explicitly: Why would the pagan origin mythology need to be replaced? The most obvious answer is that for the most part, the literati were men within the (Christian) Church, and

¹⁴This 'stylistic plainness' I define as a overall lack of *remscala* within the LGÉ.

that as such they found the pagan mythology unacceptable from their stand point for good reasons. Every mythology, by definition, contains within it elements of the supernatural if not the deities of the culture that created it. These deities or supernatural elements would have been a reminder of the pagan religion and a constant challenge to Christianity, which had its own aggressively intolerant Judaeo-Christian deity ('Thou shalt have not other gods before Me.'). However, one cannot simply eliminate a culture's native origin mythology altogether in (relatively speaking) an instant; it is too deeply embedded in narratives and rituals, lore and proverbs, similes and metaphors. It arises from the simple fact that people have a curiosity. Indeed, it could be theorized that this is what sets us apart from the rest of the animals. We as a species *need* to know. Additionally, people have a resistance to change which affects such a fundamental aspect of their lives.

The primary task of an origin mythology is to answer fundamental questions for a set of people. These questions are typically: Where did we come from? Where do we fit in? How did we get here? Where are we going? As Leemings has put it 'A creation myth is a cosmogony, a narrative that describes the original ordering of the universe.' . . . 'A myth is a narrative projection of a given cultural group's sense of its sacred past.' (Leeming and Leeming 1994: vii).

Another function of origin mythology is to demonstrate (eg. by narrating 'First Acts' acceptable and unacceptable, as well as normal and abnormal behaviour patterns within the society. Other types of questions are also answered. These include defining other things, be they animals, landscape, or natural phenomenon, and how they came into being, as well as what their place is in

the world¹⁵. With an explanation of these things at its disposal the community feels secure. They know what is accepted, if not what is expected of them; they have a sense of whence they and the things around them came, and a culturally accepted vision of what the future holds. They also know the manner in which they are linked to the greater whole not only of humanity, but of creation itself.

Therefore, a culture's origin mythology simply cannot be eliminated or invalidated. An attempt to remove it would, at one extreme, demoralize the population and, at the other, provoke implacable resistance to the incoming ideas. It would seem to me that a new mythology can only be installed if one or more of the following criteria have been met: 1) the culture being assimilated did not hold vastly differing beliefs from those of the dominant culture; 2) the "new" origin mythology were only enforced upon a converted population (i.e. where people have had the time and opportunity to observe and become 'at home' with the new mythology); 3) the population at large were undergoing a conversion process with the assistance of a smaller trusted group that had already adopted the new beliefs; 4) co-existence has led to mutual intermingling of mythology and the creation of a syncretic religion. It is probable that a combination of these criteria lay behind the introduction of the new origin mythology in Medieval Ireland.

It should be pointed out that in Ireland, origin mythology was not limited to the society as a whole. Origin mythologies existed for different clans and families as well. We know that ruling families practiced a form of ancestor worship as evidenced by the Uí Néill origin myth (Dillon 1994: 38-41). This

¹⁵Many scholars have used similar terms when discussing the functionality of myth: see e.g. Campbell 1991: 83-85. (Campbell, however, equates the questions asked by children about creation with primitive creation mythology, which smacks of long discarded attitudes towards the 'primitive mind'.)

could be linked to evidence of the presence of tribal totemism in early times. Modern scholars recognize this sort of behaviour, with all its pagan undertones, and it is quite probable that the early literati did as well. In so far as it bound a family or a tribe to explicitly pagan beliefs and deities, this whole area of activity would have been seen as a threat by the Christian literati, requiring elimination. Another factor that needs to be considered is the way in which Christian learning opened up the quantified past centuries of classical and biblical antiquity, posing questions about the pre-history of Ireland since the Deluge or before (e.g. Carey 1994:1). There is no doubt that this was a concern for the mediéval literati, as they would have wished to be, and to be seen to be a part of the larger Christian community.

This, presumably is where LGÉ fits in. It replaces the 'original' origin story of Ireland, yet we can still see vestiges of earlier pagan beliefs. A persuasive example of this was given by Carey when discussing the *Story of Tuán son of Cairell*, whose shape-shifting abilities 'arguably preserve pre-Christian conceptions' (Carey 1984 and 1994: 13). We also see this in the Túatha Dé Danann, who must by any reckoning, originate in a set of pre-Christian deities, becoming a defeated host of divinely, or at least supernaturally endowed warriors, and occasionally being stripped of their divine aspect altogether. These pre-Christian survivals in early Irish literature could indicate that 'Story (sic) of the Conquest of Ireland' underwent a gradual evolution from a text with more pagan imagery to one with less, as the Early Irish society adapted to Christianity. The LGÉ could be a product of such an evolutionary process.

Thus, LGÉ links the ruling dynasties of Medieval Ireland to the Meic Míled instead of pre-Christian totemistic figures. LGÉ sets out to establish a genealogy that traces back through Noah to Adam, an infinitely more acceptable predecessor than any other. Yet, with this descent, the ruling families lose none of their status; for their ancestors are still, in effect, chosen

by God. We have other tales within the body of Early Irish literature that show the king being chosen through Other-world intervention, e.g. by the sovereignty goddess coming to him, or by the king-to-be travelling to the *síd* to retrieve symbols of kingship. It could be possible that the literati may have allowed these tales to remain in existence because they believed that all literature contains hints or corrupted versions of God's divine plan; by reconstructing or preserving literature, one was contributing to a better understanding of God's intentions for His people.

We should refer here to the fact that Macalister, Van Hamel, and more recently Scowcroft and McCone have proposed that the pre-Irish wanderings of the Gaels were an adaptation of the Old Testament wanderings of the tribes of Israel. Indeed McCone feels that the entire LGÉ is Biblically based. This does not in any way invalidate the replacement theory which we favour. In fact, it lends it strength. What better way for an encroaching culture to subjugate the existing origin mythology of a dominated culture to its own, than to have infiltrated and permeated it with the structures and motifs of the belief system of the dominating culture? I would merely like to propose a small adjustment to McCone's position. To my mind there is a possibility that the 'original' story may have been a tale of wandering of a sort which occurs in many cultures. If that were the case, the gap between the Christian culture and the pagan Irish culture would have been narrower, and the idea of superimposing the exotic version would have occurred more easily and been more readily accepted.

In short, LGÉ may plausibly be viewed as a unifying national epic; a reconstructed history; or a replacement origin mythology. None of these interpretations excludes the others. LGÉ may or may not contain factual events or pre-Christian survivals. For this thesis, with its focus on the culture we have termed LGÉ culture, it will be treated as origin mythology. Through

examination of this origin myth I shall seek to determine some of the traits of the culture it represents.

Section 3: The Scholarship of LGÉ

LGÉ has been in existence and studied by scholars for a considerable length of time. The dates of the earliest scholarship considered in this thesis demonstrates a different type of interest in LGÉ during the 18th century.

O'Rahilly maintains that LGÉ was accepted as 'historical truth' as late as the 17th century (O'Rahilly 1984: 263-64). Scholarly interest in LGÉ, in the modern academic sense, began with the French scholar H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, who published an extensive analysis and interpreted LGÉ as mythological document of the Indo European culture (d'Arbois de Jubainville 1903).

In terms of approach, the writings of the scholars who followed d'Arbois de Jubainville have tended to fall into one of two categories: The first, eschews critical treatment of the texts, but uses LGÉ as a source for material to prove a theory or establish the historicity (or otherwise) of a historical event or person. The second approach is the textual-critical one which bases itself fully on MSS that contain LGÉ. This second group can be further sub-divided into two sub-groups, the first involving textual analysis proper, while the second employs thematic analysis. Inclusion in one of these sub-groups does not necessarily mean an exclusion from the other, as Scowcroft, in particular, belongs in both categories. In broad terms we may reckon scholarship in the first category was established by the 1880s and continued at least until the mid 1940s. The second group of scholars probably started with Thurneysen, whose study is acknowledged as fundamental by van Hamel and other subsequent scholars (e.g. Carey 1993). van Hamel himself continued this tradition, as have most scholars of the past two decades.

I am not going to concern myself overly with the early scholars. Whilst on a methodological level, I object to the apparently haphazard manner in which they have mined LGÉ selectively for material to prove their theories and

disregarded the rest as fabrication, it is clear that certain advances were made. Ultimately, all new scholarship builds on the previous generation's work to some extent. Without the efforts of the early scholars we would not have achieved the level of scholarship we currently have. By no means is all the early scholarship invalid.

The case of the Fir Bolg is instructive. It is worth mentioning that both Mac Neill and O'Rahilly accepted that the Fir Bolg had a historical basis. In this they have been followed by some subsequent scholars: e.g. O'Brien and Carey (Dillon 1954: 37-ff., Carey 1994: 9). But why the Fir Bolg out of all the invaders of Ireland?

Mac Neill tells us how one of the most celebrated of the traditional Irish genealogists, working in the 17th century, had a clear idea of the national distinctiveness of the Fir Bolg:

Dubhaltach Mac Fir Bhisigh, in the unpublished introduction to his Book of Genealogies, tells us that Fir Bolg was the specific name of a particular section of the pre-Gaelic population, but became extended in common usage so as to be applied to the whole of that population. (Mac Neill 1937: 78).

It appears that Mac Neill has summarized Rhys theory as¹⁶:

Of Palæolithic man we can say nothing, His successors, the people of the Later Stone Age, are believed to have been largely of Iberian stock- people, that is, from south-western Europe-who brought with them their knowledge of such primitive arts and crafts as were then discovered. (Mac Neill 1937: 33)

¹⁶ This quotation of what Mac Neill believes is a summary of Rhys's scholarship was taken from 'a volume on Lincolnshire of the Cambridge County Geographies'. (Mac Neill 1937: 33-39). I was unable to find the volume which is why I have quoted Mac Neill's summary of Rhys.

From this it appears that Mac Neill feels that there were scholars who associated the Fir Bolg with the above Stone Age men. However, we find in one of Rhys own works the statement: '...associated as leaders and kings of the mythic peoples of the Fir Bolg and Gailióin, whom Irish legend mixes up with the ancient inhabitants of Ireland' (Rhys 1990: 28). Therefore the statement that Mac Neill understood to imply that the Fir Bolg are Stone Age men, if it was indeed held by Rhys, was not the only view Rhys expressed on the subject. In actuality it is difficult to discern who did believe these people were the Fir Bolg other than Mac Neill himself (Mac Neill 1937: 33-49).

O'Rahilly uses Ptolemy (whose account of Ireland he dates to the 4th century B.C.) as his authority for the Fir Bolg invasion:

In the account of Ireland preserved by Ptolemy, which we have dated *ca.* 325 B.C., the ascendancy of the Priteni has given way to that of the Érainn or Bolgi. It would thus appear that the overthrow of the Priteni by Bolgic invaders took place within the sixth-fourth centuries B.C. (O'Rahilly 1984: 84).

Many subsequent scholars accepted O'Rahilly's analysis and conclusions; among them the careful philologist Michael O'Brien (see Dillon 1954: 37). In Carey, however, the belief in historical invasions has given away to belief in beliefs about invasions. To him the Nemed and Fir Bolg invasions 'appear to reflect - at whatever remove - indigenous memories and speculations about the peopling of Ireland' (Carey 1994: 9).

No matter where he came upon it, Mac Neill took issue with the theory that the Fir Bolg were from the Stone Age, reaching the conclusion that the invasions could not have begun before the fourth century B.C. (Mac Neill 1937: 49). O'Rahilly's date for the Fir Bolg inhabitation, as we have seen, was placed between the 6th and 4th centuries B.C. (O'Rahilly 1984: 84). Few other

recent scholars have been so bold as to give us a date on the Fir Bolg occupancy. Even in the earlier phases of scholarship, not all scholars believed in invasions in a historical sense. An early scholar who does not appear to hold that the Fir Bolg were historical is Douglas Hyde. Hyde felt that LGÉ is 'a pseudo-historic narrative and myth woven together and posing as real history' (Hyde 1903: 44).

As for the textual scholars, their textual analyses also tend to agree that there are four versions or recensions of LGÉ,¹⁷ but there is some disagreement over which MSS belong in which recension. I refer the reader to the tables at the end of this section for a comparison of the conclusions reached by each of the scholars who have treated the question at length. As none of these scholars used the same method of textual notation, I have had to decide which (if any) system to follow for my own discussions. After deliberation I have chosen to follow the sigila utilized by Scowcroft (Scowcroft 1987 and 1988 in full) for this thesis. These scholars have also diverged as to the proper way to divide up the text. My conclusions and practice in this respect are stated below.

My decision to follow Scowcroft's system of nomenclature is based partly on the practical grounds that his appendix is easily the most helpful guide to Macalister's troubled text (Scowcroft 1989: 140-42). I have, however, within the tables provided, at the end of this chapter, set out the systems used by all three scholars in a way which facilitates comparison. A further reason for following Scowcroft is the reassuring sense of control of the whole of the material which is manifest in his articles. Finally, Scowcroft is of one of the most recent scholars to examine LGÉ in depth, and his analysis is informed by awareness of the greatly improved understanding which today's Early Irish

¹⁷For a breakdown on the development of the text see: Macalister's Introduction to Part 1 (Macalister 1993: xi-xxv); A.G. van Hamel 1915: 97 ff.; Mark Scowcroft 1987: 81 ff.; Scowcroft 1988: 1 ff.

scholars have of the historical and mythological elements in Early Irish text.

Turning now to the merits of the several recensions of LGÉ, I am aware that some scholars, especially earlier scholars, have used the O'Cléirigh version as the basis of their discussions. Indeed, as Scowcroft concurs, LGÉ reaches its fullest expression in the O'Cléirigh version (Scowcroft 1987: 88). However, the late date of the version, which is 1631 (Scowcroft 1987: 84) gives me reason to suspect that the additions it contains will have corrupted and invalidated the elements for which I am looking. For what O'Cléirigh did was to combine all the MSS at his disposal into one work, thus creating yet another version within LGÉ tradition. This could mean that where episodes which I have identified as "indicators" for the purpose of this thesis appear in O'Cléirigh's text, they have come from a source outside the medieval MSS, and they may also have been elaborated upon by O'Cléirigh. Since I am trying to gain an insight into the medieval mind-set and LGÉ culture, the further one moves away from the earlier texts, the less confidence one can place in the evidence they present.

Besides debating over which MSS belong to which recensions, LGÉ scholars have also invested time and labour in the search for the "best" version of LGÉ. Van Hamel concurred with Thurneysen that *recension b* (van Hamel 1915: 98) fills that role. Scowcroft was more specific, maintaining that the best version lies within a single MS, *Yellow Book of Lecan* (Y) (Scowcroft 1987: 88). This is not necessarily at odds with Van Hamel, since Scowcroft's MS Y falls within Van Hamel's *recension b*. Macalister did not profess to have a recension that he believed to be the best. He believed that the O'Cléirigh version is of little value due to manipulation of the text, though he also reckoned that the compiler probably had access to earlier texts no longer extant (Macalister 1993: xxv).

To aid the ensuing discussion of LGÉ, it is expedient to arrive at an understanding of how this very bulky text is divided. There has been some divergence of scholarly opinion. I shall refer particularly to the schemata set out by van Hamel, Macalister, and Scowcroft. Scowcroft calls his sections "tracts" (Scowcroft 1987 & 1988). His use of this term corresponds closely with van Hamel's and Macalister's use of 'sections' (van Hamel 1915: 100). However, the actual divisions between are by no means identical. I give them below, together with my own divisions of the text.

Scowcroft's 'tracts':

- Tract I- The Biblical part of LGÉ until the Scythian noble arrives in Spain
- Tract II- The invasions from the Fishermen through to the Milesians coming to Ireland
- Tract III- King lists and histories
- Tract IV- Continued King lists and histories
- Tract V- Christian King lists and histories (Scowcroft 1987:81)

van Hamel's 'sections':

1. Biblical preface
 2. Introduction on the Goidels
 3. Ceasair
 4. Partholon
 5. Nemed
 6. Fir Bolg
 7. Tuatha Dé Danann
 8. Meic Míled
- (van Hamel 1915: 100)

Macalister's five volumes and sections:

Volume I

Section 1. From the Creation to the Dispersal of the Nations

Volume II

Section 2. The Early History of the Gaedil

Section 3. Cessair

Section 4. Partholon (only recension a (first redaction))

Volume III

Section 4. Partholon (other recensions (redactions))

Section 5. Nemed

Volume IV

Section 6. Fir Bolg

Section 7. Tuatha De Danann

Volume V

Section 8. The Sons of Míl

Section 9. The Roll of Kings

Here is my own division of the text:

Section 1: Biblical Events up to the settling of the sons of Noah

Section 2: The Lineage and Wanderings of the Gaedil

Section 3: The Invasions of Ireland

Section 4: The Taking of Ireland by the Gaedil

Section 5: The Roll of the Kings --starting with Eremóin

Section 6: The Roll of the Kings --after Christianity

In general, my own divisions do not diverge greatly from those of the other scholars, but my criteria are not identical to theirs. In my opinion there is a shift in style or focus marking off each of the divisions I have indicated above. Thus, after the settling of the sons of Noah into their respective lands the descent and ramifications of their progeny are laid out (Macalister 1993: 23; 37). In Recension 3 the section dealing with these ramifications is interrupted by a statement within the text: 'We shall leave off from the progeny of Noe and their adventures. We shall tell now of the progeny of Gaeidel and their adventures and their takings.' (Macalister 1993: 159-63).

The change from the tales of the Gáedil and the takings of Ireland is another marked shift within the text. Recensions 1 and 2 start: 'Let us cease [at this point] from the stories of the Gaedil' (Macalister 1996: 177, 183); and there is only a minor word change from this in Recension 3 (Macalister 1996: 195). My first two divisions are shared with van Hamel (see above).

Within the invasion sequence, while each invasion has a well-marked opening phrase, only those of Cessair and Nemed have definite concluding phrases.

The conclusion of the Fir Bolg's episode is blurred, apparently by additional material inserted after what appears to be their natural conclusions. Only in Recension 2 does the Túatha Dé Danann's invasion have a clear ending phrase. However, the emphasis throughout this entire sequence of episodes is firmly on the invasion of Ireland, which leads me to place them under one section heading. This unwillingness to sub-divide the invasions is shared with Scowcroft, as are my final three divisions: The Taking of Ireland by the Gaedil, The Roll of the Kings --starting with Eremóin and The Roll of the Kings --after Christianity.

The next issue to be discussed is the divergence of scholarly opinion as to the 'original' kernel of the story of the Gáedil within LGÉ. van Hamel spends quite a bit of time and effort trying to find the base tale of the Gáedil (van Hamel 1915: 123-141). Whilst Scowcroft argues that the attempt to find the original LGÉ is in itself "misguided" (Scowcroft 1987: 88), he nevertheless provides us with summaries of each section as he discusses them in his 1987 article. Macalister had also tried his hand at recreating the outline of the 'original' tale for the Gáedil in his introduction to *Section II: The Early History of the Gaedil*. Macalister states:

We may provisionally restore the original version in outline thus: Nel goes to Egypt: marries Scota (to account for the name "Scots"): meets Moses, but his extended dealings with him in R² are a later adaptation from the Biblical narrative: Pharaoh is drowned: Nel leaves Egypt with his wife and family: they wander far, hear the prophecy as to the duration of their voyage, set forth again and ultimately reach Spain. (Macalister 1995: 3)

van Hamel's version of this primitive account, which he dated to the 7th century, differed as to the role of the eponymous Míl, but is otherwise similar:

A noble Scythian, called Miles Hispaniae or Míl, was living in Egypt at the time of Moses. He was expelled by the Egyptians, and fled by shortest route, through Africa, to Spain. There his descendants increased in number, until they discovered Ireland from the tower at Brigantia. (van Hamel 1915: 126)

For the next evolutionary stage van Hamel postulated an expanded version of the primitive kernel containing what he considered to be the key elements of LGÉ. This would have been in existence, he reckoned, prior to 800 A.D. In it the three sons of Míl go to Ireland from Brigantia, Míl having previously been in Egypt and originating from Scythia. Additionally, Míl would now have been traced to Rifath Scot, grandson of Jafeth (van Hamel 1915: 172). Put in the simplest form, the prime elements of the wandering sequence as envisaged by Macalister and van Hamel may be outlined as follows:

A person, Míl or Nel
Leaves, or is exiled from, Egypt
His descendants arrive in Spain
From Spain, (Brigantia) Íth sees Ireland

From this starting point the story of the wandering of the Gáedil within LGÉ would have developed. Since neither van Hamel nor Macalister dissects any other section of LGÉ in search of a possible kernel or proto-form, we may take it that they would have seen this as the primal episode which generated the whole edifice of LGÉ.

We may turn now to the question of the development of the text of LGÉ and the identification of the various ingredients which contribute to this development. Macalister concluded that two basic stories were combined into one to form LGÉ (Macalister 1996: xxvi). These two tales were (1) the story of the Meic Míled, and (2) the invasion sequences (Macalister 1996: xxvii-xxviii). Macalister felt that the 'Meic Míled' Section was a parody of the

wanderings of the Israelites but that the Invasions were based on genuine Irish tradition (Macalister 1996: xxx-xxxi). Further, he included *The Roll of the Kings* as an 'essential part of the text' within the wanderings of Meic Míled (Macalister 1996: xx).

van Hamel's approach, though somewhat different from Macalister's, also appears to treat the text as containing two distinct kernels: that of the Meic Míled and that of the Invasions. However, van Hamel seeks to make a primary distinction between what of LGÉ was in Nennius's *Historia Brittonum* and what was not. He believed that three sections of the present LGÉ were available for Nennius to work from. These sections he called, respectively, *The History of the Scotti*, *The Invasion of Partholón*, and *The Invasion of Nemed with the Appendix* (van Hamel 1915: 170). Further, van Hamel believed that the story of Míl was the germ from which the whole edifice of LGÉ had sprung (van Hamel 1915: 172).

Regarding the invasion sequence as a whole, van Hamel reckoned that 'Cessair' and parts of 'Partholón' had been imported from an independent Irish tradition (van Hamel 1915: 150; 152). As for the main core of 'Partholón' and 'Nemed' van Hamel does not go so far as to identify a possible origin, but merely indicates that, to judge from the *Historia Brittonum*, Nennius was aware of these invasions. van Hamel also believed that the 'Túatha Dé Danann' and the 'Fir Bolg' sections evolved out of the *Appendix* to the Invasion of Nemed (van Hamel 1915: 171).

For my part, I agree in essence, with Scowcroft, in supposing that there were originally three tracts (Scowcroft 1988: 2). The first would be the tale of the Meic Míled from their beginnings in Scythia to their conquest of Ireland. To this were added the various Biblical elements- most notably the creation episode, unless it was already present as part of the 'parody' of the wanderings

of the Israelites, as previously suggested. (In that case, I would want to argue that the wanderings of the Meic Míled and the Biblical creation summaries were created at roughly the same time.) The second tract contained originally separate origin tales for some of the tribes within Ireland. These origin tales were combined into the Invasion sequence. The third discrete source, on my reckonings, would have contained the divergent lineages which emerged out of the kin-strife between the Meic Míled, and would have incorporated *The Roll of the Kings*. Scowcroft, however, argues that it is difficult, if not impossible, to tell whether the lineages were part of the 'Meic Míled' section or not (Scowcroft 1988: 9).

The scholars who have made the most substantial statements on the question of Biblical versus native themes are Scowcroft, the Rees brothers and Kim McCone. McCone in his controversial book *Pagan Past and Christian Present in Early Irish Literature* has argued that virtually the whole of LGÉ, including the Túatha Dé Danann is Biblically based (McCone 1991: 66-70). It would be beyond the scope of this thesis to argue in detail against McCone though I wish to record that I disagree with both his approach and his conclusions. For my purposes it is sufficient to state that even if McCone were proved correct, and we consequently eliminated the possibility that we could see pre-Christian elements within LGÉ, this would not invalidate our quest to identify cultural relevance, whether to 'Christian culture' or to 'LGÉ culture', in the LGÉ.

Scowcroft's position regarding the development of LGÉ and its tradition is much more closely akin to my own understanding. To him they:

...exemplify a fusion of two cultures, the *literati* using medieval scholarly techniques to convert native tradition into historiography and native mythopoeic techniques to convert Biblical and scholarly sources into narrative; the authors of *LG*

may thus claim equal descent from Isidore of Seville and the ancient *filid*. (Scowcroft 1988: 12)

The Rees brothers also conclude that LGÉ is a combination of native elements and Biblical, although they place less emphasis on the scholastic materials available to the compilers of LGÉ and more emphasis on the native Irish and inherited Indo-European traditions (A. and B. Rees 1961:95- formulations.)

My own view is that the LGÉ falls somewhere between the Reeses' and Scowcroft's. While I feel that Scowcroft relies too heavily on the scholastic tuition scholarship, I also feel that Reeses rely too heavily on Indo-European comparisons to reach some of their conclusions. This general stance underpins the specific judgments to be found in the analytic chapters which form the body of this thesis.

Data Tables: Manuscripts of Lebor Gabála Érenn

The following tables detail the MSS assigned by Van Hamel, Macalister and Scowcroft to each of the main recensions of LGÉ. I have included fairly full entries of information about the MSS, as well as an indication of how each scholar has referred to them within his own work.

Tables for the break down of the MSS into Recensions:

Table 1. Version A., First Redaction, Recension *a*:

Van Hamel (VH) Version A.	Macalister (RASM) First Redaction	Scowcroft (RMS) Recension <i>a</i>	date where possible (C=century)
Book of Leinster (LL) fol. 1a - 26b	Book of Leinster (L) T.C.D. Library, H.2.18	Book of Leinster (LL) TCD MS H.2.18 (#1339) fols 1-26	VH-11th or 12th C RASM.- c.1150 RMS- second half of 12th century
Book of Fermoy (F) p. 1- 16	Book of Fermoy (F) (Royal Irish Academy (RIA) Library, 23 E. 29)	Book of Fermoy (F) RIA MSS 23.E.29 (#1134) fols. 1-8	VH- no date RASM- c.1373 RMS- c. 1374 ¹⁷
-----	Stowe MSS (RIA Library D.3.1)	Stowe D.iii.1 (#671) fols. 9-22, s. XIV	RASM -c. 1373 RMS- c. 1374
-----	-----	Gaelic MS 1	RMS- 1560

(Van Hamel 1915:97; Macalister 1932: xi-xii; Scowcroft 1987:85-86)¹⁹

Table 2. Version B., Second Redaction, Recension *b*:

van Hamel (VH) Version B.	Macalister (RASM) Second Redaction	Scowcroft (RMS) Recension <i>b</i>	date where possible (C= century)
RIA D V 1 (S)	Stowe (V) RIA, V ¹ = D.5.1; V ² = D.4.1; V ³ =D.1.3 ²⁰	RIA MSS Stowe D.v.1 (#537); D.iv.1 (#538)(Y) ²¹	VH- 13th century RASM-not dated RMS- not dated
RIA D IV 1 (S)	* see Stowe (V) RIA above	* see RIA MSS Stowe above	VH- 13th century RASM-not dated RMS- not dated
Rawlinson B 512 (R) fol. 76 A ^v -97 ^v	Rawlinson B 512 (R) , Bodleian Library fols. 76 <i>recto</i> - 100 <i>verso</i> .	Bodleian MS Rawlinson B 512 (R) new fols 75B- 90, s. XIV-XV	VH- not dated RASM- not dated RMS- 14th-15th century
Book of Lecan (Lec I) fol 10 ^r -22 ^v	Book of Lecan (Λ) RIA 23.P.2	-----	VH- 1418 RASM -1418
RIA D IV 3 (s)	Stowe D.4.3 (D) RIA ²²	Stowe D.iv.3 (#1224) (D)	VH-14th or 15th C RASM-c1517-1543 RMS-pre 1543 ²³
-----	E.3.5 (E) TCD (Gwynn's Catalogue # 1433, p. 308) ²⁴	TCD MS E.3.5 no.2 (#1433) (E)	RASM- 15th C RAS- pre 1532 ²⁵
-----	P. 10266 (P) National Library of Ireland (NLI) ²⁶	NLI MS Phillipps 10266 (#G 10) (P) fols 1-2	RASM- 1480-1520 RMS- second half of 16th century
-----	Stowe A.2.4 (A) RIA	-----	RASM-17th C
-----	-----	RIA MS 24.P.13 (#1068) (D) pp. 201- 56	RMS-1621
-----	-----	RIA MS 23.H.28 (#712), s. XVIII (D) fols. 1-9	RMS-not dated
-----	-----	RIA B.iv.1b(#1269) section III (F), vell. fols. 4r & 3 ²⁷	RMS-not dated
-----	-----	Brit. Lib.MS Addit. 18948, fol. 65b	RMS-1829-1835

(van Hamel 1915:97; Macalister 1932: xiii-xix; Scowcroft 1987:86-87)

Table 3. *Míniugud*, Recension *m*

van Hamel (VH) Version B. ²⁸	Macalister (RASM) <i>Míniugud</i> ²⁹	Scowcroft (RMS) Recension <i>m</i>	date where possible (C= century)
-----	-----	MSS R (90v-97v)	RMS-not dated
-----	-----	RIA MS Stowe D.i.3 (#539) (Y)all	RMS-not dated
		Bodleian MS Rawlinson B 502, s. XII facs. pp 135a1- 136b34	RSM-12th century
-----	-----	L (facs. fols 16v- 21)	RMS-not dated

(Scowcroft 1987:87)

Table 4. Version C., Third Redaction, Recension *c*

van Hamel (VH) Version C.	Macalister (RASM) Third Redaction	Scowcroft (RMS) Recension <i>c</i>	date where possible (C= century)
Book of Ballymote (LB) p. 15a-51a	Book of Ballymote (B) RIA 23 P 12 fols. 8-34	Book of Ballymote (BB) RIA MS 23.P.12 (#536) fols. 8-34 ra	VH- 1391 RASM- not dated RMS-between 1384-1406
Book of Lecan (Lec II) fol. 264 ^r - 302 ^v	Book of Lecan (2nd text) (M) fols. 264- 312	Great Book of Lecan (L), facs. fols. 264-311	VH-post 1416 RASM-not dated RMS-1417-1418
-----	H.2.15, no. 1 in TCD (H) Gwynn's Catalogue 1316 fols. 97-104	TCD MS H.2.15a (H) (#1316) s. XIV pp 97-104	RASM -pre 1252 RMS- 14th century
-----	H.2.4 TCD Gwynn's Cat. 1295	TCD MS H.2.4 (B) (#1295) pp 29-125	3- 18th C copies RASM-not dated RSM-1728
-----	H. 1.15 TCD Gwynn's Cat. 1289	TCE MS H.1.15 (B) (#1289) pp 29-125	3- 18th C copies RASM-c. 1745 RSM- c. 1745
-----	Stowe D.3.2 RIA	RIA MS Stowe D.iii.2 (B) (#619) pp 1-135	3- 18th C copies RASM-not dated RSM- 1746
-----	-----	RIA MS 24.P.13 pp 13-29	RSM- not dated

(van Hamel 1915:97, Macalister 1932:xix-xxv, Scowcroft:87)

17. See Macalister 1932:xiii

19. Within these tables I have used the sigla within given by each scholar.

20. Treated by Macalister as one text (Macalister 1993:xiv-xv), but referenced as three (S,S,s) by van Hamel.

21. These are treated as one MS in Scowcroft as they are 'thought to belong to the original Yellow Book of Lecan, s. XIV-XV.' (Scowcroft 1987:86)

22. This is the same as "The Book of Baile ui Maoil-Chonaire..." (Macalister 1993:xvii-xviii).

23. This MS was written by Páidín Ua Maoil-Chonaire (ob. 1543 FM) (Scowcroft 1987:86).
24. This is now E.3.5., no. 2. (Macalister 1993:xv)
25. This MS was written by Torna Ó Maoil-Chonaire (ob. 1532) (Scowcroft 1987:86)
26. Formerly Phillipps Collection at Cheltenham (Macalister 1993:xv)
27. This MS is too badly damaged to be of use (Scowcroft 1987:86).
28. van Hamel, when discussing the texts in Version B, divides them into Ba and Bb. Scowcroft and Macalister agree that Bb is what is now referred to as the *Míniugud*. See Table 2 in conjunction with van Hamel 1915:99-111.
29. Macalister does not have a breakdown of the *Míniugud*, referring to it only as a part of R (see Table 2) (Macalister 1993:xvi).

Chapter Two

Section 1: Prelude to Chapter Two

For this chapter I have selected several Indicators (as previously defined) which I believe can be linked to behavioural patterns or traits within many cultures. I have picked for scrutiny indicators which seem likely to elicit a standard response from the society in question. To elaborate, if a society regards a particular form of behaviour as not acceptable within it then, in most cases, there will be a punishment meted out for that behaviour within a tale. Likewise, if it is believed that a particular sort of disaster is some form of supernatural punishment, then a story involving the punishment will also involve an act or behaviour that triggers the punishment. Episodes involving initial acts or behaviours, including acts of creating or naming - eg. place naming - are typically in most origin mythologies. On the one hand they set precedents for specific forms of behaviour (Rees 1961: 105). At the same time, however, these creation tales or motifs may also be expected to demonstrate responses and traits that are fundamental to the society in which they occur. If this were not the case, it is unlikely that they would figure in the context of its origin mythology.

As explained in *Chapter One*, it is often difficult to tell by inspection whether a particular behavioural pattern in LGÉ is appropriate to pre-Christian or to Christian Irish society, or, in the later case, whether it reflects Christianized Irish society in general or merely the mind-set of the compilers of LGÉ. It was this difficulty, it will be recalled, that led to the use of the term 'LGÉ Culture'. It may be possible, after the examination of the chosen Indicators, to identify which type of society LGÉ culture has more in common with, or how much influence each type may have had in the process of creating LGÉ. The pros and cons of each possible provenance will be discussed for each behavioural pattern as it is encountered.

The Indicators that I have employed are of three main sorts: (1) Place Naming or Place Creation episodes; (2) Initial Behaviours, with special reference to acts of social deviance (eg. Adultery, Jealousy, Anger, Incest, or Kin-slaying); (3) supernatural intervention, including both natural disasters and Population Tragedies (Floods, Plagues, Oppressions, and Shipwrecks). In the discussion of each type of Indicator and its sub-types, the individual or individuals involved will be specified and their significance, if discernible, will be explained.

Section 2: An Examination of Place Names:

Place Naming and Creation episodes often play a significant part within the larger origin tales of many societies, and are certainly not the sole property of the Celts. However, the Irish tradition, for whatever reasons, contains an unusually large amount of onomastic lore within it. This is most obviously evidenced by *dindshenchas* traits, amongst which the *Metrical Dindshenchas*, edited by Edward Gwynn takes pride of place. LGÉ is no exception to this general rule. As the Rees brothers put it:

From a mythological point of view, nothing really exists until it has been 'formed', 'defined', and named, and in as much as the *Lebor Gabála Éirenn* is concerned with the origin of physical features, boundaries, and names, it retains some of the essentials of cosmogonic myth. (A. and B. Rees 1961: 104)

To narrow the scope of this study I have focused on sites that are explicitly named or created within LGÉ, as these are the most firmly associated with origin mythology.

When considering place names within LGÉ, there are four initial questions that need to be asked: What is being named or created? Why is that specific feature being named or created? Who is doing the naming or creating? What can this tell us about LGÉ culture? Here one must add a cautionary note: not all the place names within LGÉ have been equated with modern locations. Macalister, for example, felt that some of them are entirely fictional. Of *Cúl Chesra* he stated: '...the topography of fairyland is hardly to be pinned down to telluric sites:....' (Macalister 1996:235); and of *Ard Ladrann* 'Ard Ladrann is usually identified with Ardamine, on the Wexford coast, but the terrestrial identification of dreamland sites is unprofitable.' (Macalister 1996: 232-5). This inability to locate a site within the Irish tradition is not unique to LGÉ. When editing the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, Cecile O'Rahilly also encountered this

problem and refers explicitly to 'mere inventions to provide a *dindshenchus*' amongst the place names which are not identifiable to modern scholars (O'Rahilly 1976: xv).

'Unprofitable' or otherwise, Macalister spends quite a bit of time in exactly this pursuit of 'terrestrial identification'. It is my belief that because so many locations within LGÉ have been successfully identified (including supposed *sid* locations), at some point during the development of LGÉ most of the place names represented known locations. It is simply through the gap of time that these exact locations have been lost to us. Of course, it is not necessary that all the locations mentioned within LGÉ relate to actual features or sites. I freely concede the possibility that some names could have been created by the authors or editors of LGÉ to add an air of believability to the narrative, just as in Miss O'Rahilly's examples from *Táin Bó Cúailnge*.

At all events, the number of unknown locations I have had to discuss within this dissertation is small and they have had little effect on the actual focus of the discussion. But given the partiality for place lore which appears to have been widespread within Early Irish society, it could be that these unknown locations were, in fact, a literary device, designed to draw the audience into the story. This suggestion, if well-founded, would give us an important insight into the psychology of LGÉ culture by suggesting that LGÉ was, amongst other things, intended to entertain and form a persuasive fiction as a mythic construct.

Many of the place names within LGÉ were located by Edmund Hogan in his formidable and invaluable work, *Onomasticon Goedelicum*. Hogan's breadth of coverage was such that it is often hard to better his identifications even today, and I have deferred to him wherever a firm identification is given in *Onomasticon Goedelicum*. However, there are occasions when certainty was

not possible. For these my procedures are as follows. In the first place, all names whose locations are not readily identifiable are so denoted when they appear (or rather when they fail to appear!). Statements in the following text of "no location given" (followed by a footnote) is used where Hogan merely quotes what is written in LGÉ about a place, and does not identify a modern location. Where Macalister and Hogan agree on a modern site I have accepted their location. If no footnote is given, then the site is not identified by either Macalister or Hogan. Where they do not agree I give both locations and address arguments for and against each choice.

The first three queries- 'what is being created or named?', 'why in that specific place?', and 'what is the possible significance of this?'- overlap each other and can be discussed together. The topographical features being named or created fall into four categories, some with further sub-categories: bodies of water (rivers or lochs); plains; mountains; and earth works (forts, cairns, and ráiths). Why are these features being named, and sometimes renamed by subsequent invasions? There are several possible answers to this question, and all have the potential of being correct in certain cases.

It is only natural for large prominent features in a landscape to be given names within the legends pertaining to that landscape. This will be seen in more detail in the comparative section below (see *Chapter Four*). This process could be invoked to explain prominent lakes, rivers and mountains of a localized area being named within LGÉ. However, unlike the geographical locations found within the Navajo material, not all of the topographical features in LGÉ fall within a localized area. On the contrary, the locations featured in each invasion are spread over at least a whole province of Ireland, or lie at the outer fringes of Ireland. Sometimes it seems almost as though they are located as far away from each other as possible. This tells us something important about the literati who were responsible for fashioning our

narrative into its present form. If we take into account that the compilers of LGÉ were obtaining their information from further afield than any locally-based source and recognize that their 'landscape' was an extremely wide one, then we can see their activity as mirroring the traditional instinct to provide place-lore for prominent features, but occurring at a supra-tribal level. Indeed, the inclusion of far-flung locations could be seen as an attempt to draw all of Ireland into the framework of LGÉ, which would lend support to the theory that LGÉ was intended as a unifying national origin mythology.

My next hypothesis is that place-names in LGÉ may reflect pre-Christian onomastics. It is altogether possible that the pagan Irish society had name-lore for its sites of political or religious importance. Such naming tales could have been brought into LGÉ when the compilers incorporated the pagan or semi-pagan episodes of the oral tradition. These episodes, most notably the Cessair Invasion, were discussed in *Chapter One, Section 2*. We will return to the naming of prominent religious sites in more detail within the Navajo material below (see *Chapter Three*).

This hypothesis gains credibility when we look at sites that are known to have been important to the pagan Celts, and which continued to be of importance after the arrival of Christianity. As indicated previously, the type of sites which fall to be discussed within this section by virtue of their appearance in name-giving episodes in LGÉ are: lochs, rivers, islands, mountain tops, earthworks and plains. It can readily be demonstrated that each of these types of location was of importance to the pre-Christian Celts.

As it is common knowledge that water sites are of importance to the Celts I will spend only a short time on them:

Hardly less well-attested is the evidence for sacred lakes and rivers. There were sanctuaries, for example, at the sources of the Marne and the Seine. (Chadwick 1991: 151)

In addition to these water sites are island locations, the importance of which is attested to in the work of Anne Ross and Miranda Green (Ross 1986: 104-112, Green 1995: 448-451, 453-54). Side by side with these sites there were holy woods known as *nemeton* (Chadwick 1991: 150-51, Powell 1980: 168). While none of our sites are presented there would appear to be an association with woods in those cases in LGÉ where an individual is said to have cleared forest to create a plain. To support this argument that sacred or politically important sites could include not just woods but also plains and earthworks and cairns I call on Powell:

It seems, indeed, that *nemeton* may have come to have had a very widespread application, and there are two categories of sites, in addition to woods, that may have been so called. Firstly, there were the places at which the seasonal gatherings of the *túath*, or tribe, took place. The Galatian centre, Drunemeton and the various royal sites in Ireland, Emain Macha, Tara, Cruachain and others, are possible examples. These popular foregatherings could not have been conveniently held within a wood, as races, games and public meetings of various kinds were all essential elements of these festivals. In Ireland one finds that the traditional sites are in fact more remarkable for their funerary monuments than for signs of habitation or defence, and in the literature it is the grave mounds that are remembered, and shown to have been the reason for the celebration at that place. (Powell 1980: 168)

In other words, the wooded grove enclosing a ritually important cleared space, as evidenced in pre-Christian Celtic religion, may be echoed in the clearing actions attributed to the early colonists of Ireland in LGÉ.

A comparable puzzle arises when we turn to the category of mountains. When

one reviews the religious sites discussed by modern scholarship it soon becomes clear that mountains are rarely mentioned. True, there is plenty of place-name evidence for mountains with divine annotations, such as *Sliab na Trí Deé* ('The Mountain of the Three Deities') and *Dá Chích Anann* ('The Two Paps of Anu'). However, one should beware of equating the name of a site with its function; that is to say, the naming of these mountains after deities does not necessarily make them religious sites. Yet in some cases there is a warrant for the ready acceptance that mountain-top locations have received as religious sites on the part of Celtic scholars (eg. Ross 1986: 105). Welcome clarification is provided by a recent re-appraisal of the supposedly defensive structures of hillforts (Raftery 1994: 48-57). Some hillforts were indeed built as defensive structures. Raftery asks the following very pertinent question:

Could it be, nonetheless, that among the sites we call hillforts there were those which were not in fact fortresses built to be defended? It is possible, for example, that these were focal points within the tribal area, designed for communal gatherings at certain times of the year to conduct the business of the neighbouring tribes? Perhaps in such cases the massive ramparts were raised to enhance the status of the ruling dynasties. Or is it possible that some were constructed for purely ceremonial purposes, places of pilgrimage such as Croagh Patrick in Co. Mayo, today a hilltop Christian festival with roots in the pagan Iron Age? Is there indeed a functional link between the hilltop enclosures and the prehistoric burial mounds which so often occur within them? (Raftery 1994: 57)

If we follow this line of reasoning we can confirm that, even if not all of these hilltop sites were of religious significance, a considerable number of them did possess this aura or association within Celtic society in pre-Christian times. On that basis, their use as reference points in the mythical geography of LGÉ is more readily explicable.

By the same token, however, it may be asked why, in those cases where

archaeological evidence appears to confirm the religious significance of a hill-top location, would Christian monks have wished to give publicity in their writings to pagan religious sites? Perhaps the threat of paganism had receded by the time that LGÉ was compiled, to the extent that the compilers were driven more by the desire to impart antiquarian information or antique colouring than to caution against paganism. A more obvious motive would have been to assimilate the sites into a form acceptable to Christianized Ireland. In much the same way many Irish heroes were "saved" by being given suitably Christian visions or conversions long after their tales had originated: see, for example, *The Death of Conchobar* (Jackson 1971: 53-6). In the same way, pagan sites, rites and deities were claimed for the Church by enthusiastic Christian literati enveloping them within Christian imagery and ideology.

It may be appropriate to extend this sort of assimilation model to LGÉ's Created and Named sites in certain cases where an earlier association and a later are encountered. Especially if the later one is intended to eclipse the earlier one, providing a site with a more acceptable founder. This can be most clearly seen in Armagh's original naming by Nemed and subsequent "founding" by the post-Christian king Lóegaire mac Néill, thereby distancing Armagh from its pagan past and ratifying its Christian heritage. If this analysis is accepted in the case of Armagh, it may be asked why then were not all of the sites with pre-Christian associations reclaimed by post-Christian kings? One possibility is that the scribes did not see this as necessary or desirable. Thus the really powerful motive behind the statement about Armagh's "founding" might have had less to do with pagan-Christian struggles and more to do with propaganda legitimizing Armagh as the foremost Christian Church in Ireland. One may also recall that LGÉ was not a completed work (cf. *Chapter One, Section 2* above). It is thus possible in principle that more of these "foundings" by Christian kings might have been in

process as other monastic sites rose to prominence, or may have even been in existence in local traditions that did not achieve written form or which were confined to MSS that did not survive the ages or have not yet been recovered.

It is not always obvious which is the correct way of regarding a given name, or indeed if there is one correct way of regarding it. Certainly the above model cannot account for all the sites mentioned in LGÉ; and it is doubtful whether any single model will be adequate to cover all the sites and features dealt with in this section. It is worth mentioning some other possibilities.

We may begin with the scenario mentioned previously, in which place-names were created within a tale for purely stylistic reasons, in order to create the illusion of reality, and had no prior existence at all. That is an extreme case, perhaps. Another sort of scenario involving invention may occur where a site of relative importance and undoubted authenticity, but previously unencumbered with a Naming or Creation episode, may have been redeployed in order to create an aura of authenticity for a newly invented descendant of Míl. To elaborate: given the long-recognized importance of genealogy within LGÉ (e.g. Douglas 1903: 60-62) and the accepted fact that various sons of Míl have patently been added since the earliest form of the Milesian genealogy of which we have direct knowledge, it is at least conceivable that on some occasions our compilers looked for a prominent rath or other site and used the identity of the site to create a descendent of Míl.

A further possibility of a rather different sort may be mentioned next. We know that, during the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries, there was a general and widely-based move towards a national sense of identity in Ireland. It seems possible to suggest that when the compilers of LGÉ go out of their way - or so it seems to me - to use far-flung sites in their description of each invasion, they are making a deliberate effort to make all of Ireland feel

included within what we may plausibly term a national origin epic. Within each invasion, sites from across Ireland are at the very least mentioned, even if they do not fall within the categories that are being examined here. This could, I suggest have been a statement attempt by the literati to the effect that all Ireland, and not just a local area important to a particular population group or ecclesiastical *familia*, was the stage on which their actors, had played from the most remote periods of time.

Different again is the suggestion sometimes made that the compilers of LGÉ were simply using their text as a vehicle for salvaging traditional accounts dealing with creation and incorporating older oral narratives into a Christian context. Although recent scholarship has emphasized the European and ecclesiastical input to Early Irish literature, nobody would go so far as to deny the existence of home-grown, secular (or at least non-Christian) elements. In this context we may refer in passing to the question of sites where repetitions of the act of naming and/or creating may be found within the MSS. Raftery alludes to a phenomenon which could give us some insight when he asks, 'Is there ... a functional link between the hilltop enclosures and the prehistoric burial mounds which so often occur within them?' (Raftery 1994: 57). Even if the medieval Irish literati could not recognize the differences in the dates of the burial mounds or hillforts, I would suggest that they could at least recognize the two sorts of structures as being different in age. This would have suggested a succession of previous occupants of the sites, which needed to be explained in some manner. From hints like these there could have evolved quite naturally a notion of the stratification of the past. What better way to capture this notion than to have a succession of 'prehistoric' groups laying claim to the sites in question?

Possibly, of course, this stratification of the past was present already in oral tales which the compilers of LGÉ knew. If the tradition had already

incorporated multiple renamings, it could be that these renamings had taken place for much the same reasons as suggested in connection with the Christianizing of a site, though obviously in this case without the Christian context. At the same time one would have expected inconsistencies or repetitions, especially minor ones, to be in danger of being eliminated; for we know from the evidence of numerous glosses and interpolations that the scribes who worked on the MSS in the LGÉ tradition were perfectly capable of adding or subtracting details as they saw fit.

The final scenario to be mentioned is one in which the LGÉ culture itself gave names to prominent features, be they natural or man-made. This would mean that any place-name stories identified as falling into this category, within LGÉ are to be classed as works of imaginative fiction. This may well have been the case in certain instances, we have seen. However, given the complexity of the oral and written tradition from which LGÉ originated, it is certainly not the case for all instances of place-name stories. It is also possible- and, as we will see, probable- that the "correct" answer in some cases will involve more than one of the above explanations.

To conclude this subsection we need to address my fourth question: 'Who was the individual (or who were the individuals) responsible for the naming or creating of a feature and what was the relevance of this to their society?' With that end in view the individual invasions will be examined and the people responsible for either naming places or creating toponymy will be discussed. My approach in this section will be to discuss the Created or Named sites in each successive invasion in turn. Wherever possible, I shall indicate what their names are in the modern era, before proceeding to a discussion of the variation in the way they are dealt with within the textual tradition. To elaborate, the ways in which a place is described as having been Created or Named can vary from a short statement- e.g. that a certain river burst or a

certain plain was cleared- to a much more elaborate naming story. The order of treatment is based on the successive invasions, starting with Cessair and ending with the sons of Míl. The section will conclude with a review of the sorts of information about the make-up of LGÉ which may be gleaned from this category of evidence.

Cessair:

The invasion of Cessair is the first to contain place-names relevant to this thesis. The "Invasion of the Three Fishermen" does not mention any place names within Ireland, except the point where the fishermen are noted to have drowned, *Tuadh Inmir*, now known as the estuary of the River Bann on the northern coast of Ireland (Macalister 1996: 232). This is quite a strange location for a group that supposedly had come from Spain, unless one were to invoke the idea of circumnavigating an area in order to possess it. One should not overlook the possibility, however, the fishermen were simply looking for the best place to come ashore.

Scholars have maintained that Banba is a doublet of Cessair (Macalister 1996: 173). This means they are, in effect, considered to be the same person, or at least the same mythical persona²⁸. Yet, it has also been suggested that her invasion could have originated as a pre-Christian flood myth (Macalister 1996: 171-4). It is here we receive our first glimpse of the pre-Christian mythology embedded within LGÉ. It is unfortunate that the original tale is all but beyond reconstruction. The link with Banba is curious, since later on in LGÉ it is Banba who is supposed to have survived the Flood and greets the Meic Míled on their arrival in Ireland. Could these be the remnants of another sovereignty goddess tale? This will be discussed further within *Section 3* of

²⁸ For other discussions on the Cessair mythology please see Seamus MacMathúna's *Immune Brain* p. 426 ff. and Miranda Green's *Celtic Goddesses* 1995 pp 81-82.

the present chapter.

Four place names fall within scope of this thesis: *Ard Ladramn*, which is noted as Ardamine hill on the Wexford coast (Macalister 1996: 235; Hogan 1910: 42); *Cúl Chesra*, the placement of which is uncertain, though several possibilities are listed (Macalister 1996: 235; Hogan 1910: 318-9); *Sliab Betha*, now Slieve Beagh, formerly known as Slíab Bethad (Macalister 1996: 235; Hogan 1910: 605); and *Fert Fintáin ós Tul Tuinne*, which Macalister and Hogan agree survives in the place name of Tountinna on Loch Derg in County Tipperary (Macalister 1996: 235; Hogan 1910: 412).

To facilitate my discussion, I will now cite the section of LGÉ which contains these place-names and refers to the individuals responsible for their coming into being. I cite it from Macalister's 'First Redaction', which contains the names in a concise form. The other two recensions differ only minimally in the core information contained in their version of this paragraph. Glosses and interpolations have expanded its bulk, but without adding additional elements of relevance to our enquiry.

...Bith mac Noé, diatá slíab Betha - is and ro hadnacht, i carn mór Slébe Betha; Ladru lúam diatá Ard Ladrand - is é cétna marb dochóid fo úir Hérenn: Fintán mac Bochra, diatá Fert Fintáin ós Tul Tuinne. Atbath Cessair i Cúil Chesra la Connachta, cona cóicait ingen.(Macalister 1996: 182)

... Bith s. Noe, of whom is Sliab Betha (named) - there was he buried, in the great stone-heap of Sliab Betha; Ladra the pilot, of whom is Ard Ladrand - he is the first dead man who went under the soil of Ireland; Fintan s. Bochra, of whom is "Fintan's Grave" over Tul Tuinde. Cessair died in Cul Cessrach in Connachta, with her fifty maidens. (Macalister 1996: 183)

The site of Slieve Beagh is confidently located at the meeting point of counties

Tyrone, Monaghan and Fermanagh. It is the grave site of Bith, who was one of the leaders of Cessair's invasion. Depending on the size of the cairn, this sort of feature may dominate the landscape. It might have been associated with Bith because he, as Cessair's father, was the most prominent male of the invasion. For *Ard Ladrann*, I could find no location on the Wexford coast for Ardamine hill, though Hogan is satisfied as to its existence. The form Ardleyren exists in the *Annals of Clonmacnois* and this could be an anglicization of *Ard Ladrann*, although this is not certain. In any case, *Ard Ladrann*, is clearly located in the south-east of Ireland. Tountinna is another hill site and both Hogan and Macalister agree that it is on Loch Dergderc, bordering counties Clare and Tipperary. This gives it a relative location in the south-west. This location combines the water and mountain features and, if we include the physical feature implied by *Fert Fintáin*, the earthwork element is also included.

Cúl Chesra ('Ceassair's Corner' of 'Nook') is more difficult to identify. Macalister gives two different modern names for this location in two different counties, his preferred location being in Roscommon and the other in Galway (Macalister 1996: 235). Hogan concurs with both sites as possibilities and adds a reference to yet another in a third county, Kerry (Hogan 1910: 318-19), which Macalister does not mention at all. Much to my frustration, none of the modern name forms cited (i.e. Coolcasragh, etc.) appear on the maps I have worked with for this section, by any of the given names. The early references assembled by Hogan suggest that it was a hill site and that it might have been near a body of water.

The four individuals from Cessair's invasion who have sites named after them were the leaders of the invasion: Cessair, herself, and the three men: Bith, Ladra and Fintán. The three sites that have been identified with some confidence are not clustered in a central location, but tend to be scattered

around the periphery of Ireland. Depending on the preferred location for *Cúl Chesra*, it is either relatively near to *Fert Fintáin* or *relatively near to Sliab Betha*, but in neither case is it remarkably so. It may be a point to note that the site of Cessair's death, i.e. *Cúl Chesra*, is in placed in the province of Connaught in two redactions (Macalister 1996: 183, 193). Interestingly, this is also the province of the literary Queen Medb of the Táin, who appears later on in LGÉ as well, perhaps hinting at a feminine personification for the province of Connaught. On the other hand, Cessair has an overlap with the figure of Banba in some accounts, which links her with all Ireland rather than a single province.

As to why the particular sites relating to this invasion were chosen, and on what principle, we can deal only in possibilities. They may have been, as Macalister claims, a local site to the storyteller. A hypothesis that arises from this being our first invasion; these sites, if hold-overs from the pre-Christian tradition, might have been quite important pagan sites. Alternatively, the early literary references to Tul (or Tonn) Tuinne suggest that it may have been chosen as a name with 'ancient' connotations in the eyes of medieval antiquarians. But the other names do not reveal any obviously special connotations, either in literary or in archaeological terms. Thus these later place-names could in principle have been created to serve as names contained in an early form of LGÉ, or they could have been pre-existing place-names which became the inspiration for the names of characters in LGÉ.

The Rees brothers (Rees 1961: 113-5) have made much of the associations of water and hills in this episode, which they see as reflecting the primeval dichotomy of sea and land. At the same time Bith, father of Cessair, is made out to be a son of Noah, so that the episode is tied firmly into the biblical version of that undoubtedly important cosmological episode. It is tempting to suppose that a facet of proto-creation myth is being enunciated here, of a sort

which we shall encounter in explicit form in the Navajo material. In it the first places are plotted on the blank canvas of Ireland. But whether the mythopeia belongs to a pagan Celtic past or to a Christian Irish present is as yet unclear.

Partholón:

Partholón's invasion appears to be focused in the northern half of Ireland. There is one named site in the far south, namely *Mag Fea* which is in modern Co. Tipperary. The next most southern point is in County Offaly, *Mag nAífe*. From there we move up to Meath with *Loch Laiglinde*. Within this invasion sixteen sites are mentioned, half of which are not given any association with individuals named as participating in the invasion. The remaining eight eponyms do commemorate in one way or another.

The following lochs are simply stated to have burst out of the ground during Partholón's invasion without further explanation. The LGÉ names are given first, followed by the modern equivalents in brackets: *Loch Cúán* (Strangford Loch), *Loch Dechet* (Loch Gara), *Loch Mesc* (Loch Mask), *Loch Con* (Loch Conn), *Loch nEchtra* (no modern name given, near Loch Mucknoe). The following plains are simply said to have been cleared: *Mag Tuired*, also called *Mag nEthrige* (near Sligo); *Mag Lí* (on the west bank of the River Bann in Co. Derry); and *Mag Ladrind* (a maritime plain near Larne) (Macalister 1987: 85).

The next group contains place-names which are linked to characters who figure in the invasion, rather than to simple acts of creation. *Mag Fea*, as scholars now agree, is Slievenamon in Co. Tipperary (Macalister 1987: 84). It was named for the first man to die in Ireland during Partholón's invasion. In the text, Fea is buried under the plain that hence bears his name (Macalister 1987:17). *Inber Chichmuine* is a location that is undeterminable according to

Macalister (Macalister 1987: 90), but it was allegedly named after Cíchbán, the wife of Slánga. The next site was also named after a woman, Aífe, wife of Laiglinne, is associated with *Mag nAífe* which is thought to be in Co. Offaly near Portarlinton (Macalister 1987: 90).

The final two sites occur within the section of Partholón's invasion, termed *The Seduction of Topa and Jealousy of Partholón* (Macalister 1987: 38-41). The sites are *Dá Égond* and *Inis Saimér* and both are located on the River Erne. *Dá Égond* or "the two fools" (Macalister 1987: 39) is a reference to Partholón's wife, either Delgnát or Elgnat depending on the recension, and Topa, Partholón's henchman, who is seduced by her. *Inis Saimér*, received its name from the killing of Elgnat's lap-dog (Saimér) by Partholón in a jealous rage (Macalister 1987: 39). Thus the island is given the dog's name. This is the first occasion on which we see an animal giving its name to a location; we will see more of this in the invasion of the Túatha Dé Danann.

Two of the final four place names arising from this invasion are loch bursts created by the digging of a grave for the person whose name they acquire; one further site is the grave mound itself; while the last is a plain cleared by its eponym. In order these are: *Loch Laiglinne*, probably a turlock in Meath southwest of Tara (Macalister 1987: 84); *Loch Rudraige*, which is Dundrum Bay (Macalister 1987: 7); *Sliab Slanga*, now Slieve Donard in the Mourne Mountains (Macalister 1987: 15); and *Mag nÍtha*, which has kept its name, in the south of Arklow (Macalister 1987: 7). The first of these three are named for sons of Partholón; Laiglinne, Slánga, and Rudraige respectively, while the last one is named for Íth, the hireling of Partholón who cleared the plain. While the Rees brothers see Partholón's invasion as a whole as pertaining to the 'fourth class' of labourers and craftsmen (A. and B. Rees 1961: 113), it seems possible that this last naming represents at a personal level the eligibility of a lower-class individual to fulfil a social note, and the accepted

potential for upward social movement between the classes of early Irish society if certain criteria are met (cf. Kelly 1991: 11-12). Apart from this example, however, the eponymous characters are confined to the leaders of the invasion or their wives²⁹.

It is also within the invasion of Partholón that we see *Mag Tuired* being created - thereby, quite literally, clearing the stage for the famous battles of *Mag Tuired* later in LGÉ. We also see here the first encounter with the Fomoraigne who will be discussed further below.

Nemed:

On the whole, Nemed's invasion force seems to have centered on the lower-northern half of Ireland with a few clusters in the upper northern reaches. We have only one Nemedian site on the south coast of Ireland, which is *Ailén Arda Nemid*. In Nemed's invasion the emphasis is still on the creation of physical features, with seventeen sites being created as it were spontaneously, and a further site being both created and named by its supposed creator. Five more sites are named and in addition to *Ailén Arda Nemid* (Cove in Cork Harbour), the odd site within this invasion due to its southernly location.

There are two types of sites that are simply stated to have come into being during Nemed's invasion, lochs and plains. The loch bursts are: *Loch Cál* (Lochgal); *Loch Muinremair* (Loch Ramor); *Loch nDairbrech* (Loch Derryvaragh). Twelve plains are said to have been cleared by Nemed during his invasion. The plains that were cleared are: *Mag Cera* (surrounding Castlebar); *Mag nEba* (a maritime plain west of Benbulbin); *Mag Cúili Tolaid* (the barony of Kilmaine); *Mag Luirg* (south of Cerlew mountains); *Mag Seired* (surrounding Kells); *Mag Tochair* (at the foot of Slieve Snaght); *Mag Seimne*

²⁹ Hereafter the leaders, their sons and wives will be referred to as 'the ruling family.'

(on the Island of Magee or near it); *Mag Macha* (near Armagh); *Mag Muirthemne* (a maritime plain of county Louth); *Mag mBernsa* (whose location is cautiously put on the border between Carlow and Kildare); *Mag Moda* (not identified) and *Lecmag* (not identified) (Macalister 1987: 190-1).

Unlike those of the invasion of Partholón, none of the plains cleared in Nemed's time are named in direct attribution to an individual who cleared them. However, in the second and third redactions of LGÉ, we learn that the wives of the sons of Nemed were named Macha, Medha, Eaua and Cera (Macalister 1987: 131). This, in all likelihood, was intended to account for the names of *Mag Macha*, *Mag Cera*, *Mag nEba* and possibly *Mag Moda*. Reverting to Recension I only a page later *Ard Macha* (Armagh) is directly attributed to Macha, who here appears as Nemed's wife rather than as the wife of one of his sons (Macalister 1987: 133).³⁰ It is by virtue of being the chieftain's wife and the first death of an invasion, that Macha has a place named after her. It is not clear, in Macha's case, as it was with *Mag Fea*, whether she was supposed to have been buried there, or whether she simply died there.

Two raths were dug by order of Nemed, *Ráith Cimbáeith* (on Island of Magee) and *Ráith Cindeich* (in the barony of Oneilland) (Macalister 1987: 190). Of the first rath we can say little other than that it is either on or near one of the plains cleared within this invasion, namely, *Mag Seimne*. When discussing the second rath the text explains who the builders were, who their father was, that they were of the Fomoraige, and that they were killed the next day:

Ceithre meic Matain Mundremair do Fomorchaib ro chlaidset

³⁰ Macalister appropriately alerts us to the apparent sovereignty goddess connotations of the marriage between Nemed and Macha: see his notes to this section (Macalister 1987: 194)

Ráith Cindeich in óen ló: Bocc [agus] Robocc, Ruibne [agus] Rodan a n-anmand. Ocus ro marbtha in Daire Lige ría matain la Nemid riasiu no chindis a claide.

The four sons of Matan Munremar, of the Fomoraig, dug Raith Cindeich in one day: Bocc, Robocc, Ruibne, and Rodan were their names. And they were slain in Daire Lige by Nemed before morning, before they should improve upon [ed. note: 'before they could complete'] their digging. (Macalister 1987: 132-3)

Macalister equates the killing of the four brothers with the killing of slaves to '...prevent the leakage of technical, military, or economic secrets...' (Macalister 1987: 190). While I do not completely reject this explanation, I do not feel that it conforms to what we know of Celtic or Early Irish society. Rather, I am reminded of the literary and archaeological evidence we have for the ritual deposition of human skulls as part of the 'sanctification' of newly-built Celtic forts, as I shall explain in a moment.

Macalister himself points out that 'they [the Fomoraige] have none of the monstrous nature credited to them in the Partholonian section, but (as the glossator tells us) they have become mere sea-pirates' (Macalister 1987: 191). Bearing this in mind the Fomoraige may be treated as a (subjugated) rival population rather than the demonic inhabitants as seen in Partholón's invasion. On that basis at least two other ways of interpreting this episode present themselves. First, we know that within Celtic society, hostages were often exchanged between factions to prevent warfare from breaking out. Could it have been that Bocc and his brothers were hostages? This theory could help to explain why we are told so much about the brothers including their lineage, although they were of the Fomoraige, and not of the people of Nemed. Another plausible explanation of their slaying would have been a possible sacrifice to sanctify a newly built structure, especially as the killings took

place 'before morning'. This is exemplified by a group of burials known as the 'Pit Tradition'. These are '...the remains of abnormal, outcast members of Celtic society.' (Green 1995: 493-95). In Green we also read:

Another possible minority group would be the victims of human sacrifice. It is certain that the Celts did practice human sacrifice...and it seems possible that the partial burials with overtones of violence and dismemberment are the results of sacrificial rites. (Green 1995: 495)

Green has previously remarked that 'the partial bodies are always a rare occurrence, and are much more likely to occur on hill-forts than on other forms of settlement, and more likely to include juveniles and adolescents than the other categories' (Green 1995: 492). Could the slaying of the brothers have been a remembrance of a pagan ritual? Or even of witnessed ritual?

Another reason why the slaying of the brothers does not seem to fit within the law tracts is that various sorts of wrights - which term includes the builders of raths - are amongst the people accorded special status (Kelly 1991: 61-2).

This provides a third possible way of reading the passage in question: Brocc and his brothers had the status of hostages, could be a reason for the following battles between the Fomoraige and Nemed, and the subsequent oppression of the Nemedians after Nemed's death.

The final two place names attributed to Nemed and his kin are *Ailén Arda Nemid* (the island of Cove in Cork Harbor) and *Loch nAnnind* (Loch Ennall). *Loch nAnnind* is another loch that burst upon the digging of a grave, this time the grave of Nemed's son Annind (Macalister 1987: 133). *Ailén Arda Nemid* is the location where Nemed, together with between two and three thousand followers, died of plague. Nemed's death ended his invasion's prosperity, whereupon the surviving members of his people become a subject people of the Fomoraige.

In Nemed's invasion more emphasis is placed on clearing plains than on loch bursts, and there are no mountain sites at all. Also, the acts of creation, when done by an individual, are accomplished by Nemed himself or by his order, and named for (or possibly by) the ruling family. Even in the case of *Ráith Cindeich*, the name of the rath does not commemorate Bocc and his brothers or their lineage in any way.

Fomoraige:

Interestingly enough, it is with the Fomoraige that we first see examples of a subsequent invasion laying claim to sites identical to, or at least in very close proximity to sites previously named or created by an earlier invasion. There are two sites which will be addressed here that are named in association with the Fomoraige. They are *Torinis Cétni* (Tory Island) and *Mag Cétni* (Mag Slecht). *Torinis Cetni* is associated, within the text, with the Tower of Conand. Conand was one of the two leaders of the Fomoraige who oppressed the Nemedians after Nemed's death. *Mag Cétni* was where the tribute was to be brought every Samain. Recensions 2 and 3 provide their own explanations as to the name of *Mag Cétni*. Here is Recension 3, MS L, which concisely encompasses the information contained in all the redactions:

Is airi adberthea Mag Ceitne fris, uair idbereal cach re cheli: In
cus in Mag Cetna do Doberthar in chain? ‡No is e Ceti mac
Alloit do reidig in Mag iar cen mair na diaid sin. ||

This is why it was called Mag Cetne, for everyone used to say,
each to the other: Is it to the Same Plain that the tribute is to be
borne? [Or it was Ceti son of Allot who cleared the plain, a
long time thereafter.] (Macalister 1987: 140-41)

Here we see the play on the words of *Mag Cétni*; the 'Same Plain'. But for that this could count as a typical clearing of a plain by an individual of

importance. A third possibility is, of course, that neither of the two explanations above is correct, and that we have lost the original naming story of this location. Cétne mac Allóit as the initiator of an act of creation does not ring true in this case because the invasion Cétne mac Allóit is a part of has not occurred as yet within LGÉ. However, a play on words such as this is only seen this once in the entirety of LGÉ, and is more likely a later addition rather than an original piece of place-lore, especially since it does not show up in Recension 1.

The next aspect to address concerning *Mag Cétni* is its location. Macalister's convoluted argument process, including the Samain date of tribute and the spelling of a pagan deity's name backwards, leads him to draw the line just short of stating that *Mag Cétni* is, in fact, *Mag Slécht* (Macalister 1987: 117). If it were actually *Mag Slécht* it would have been located in county Leitrim (Hogan 1910: 517). But Hogan has cited authorities to place *Mag Cétni* between the rivers Erne and Drowes (Hogan 1910: 515). *Dá Égond* and *Inis Saimér*, as we saw above in dealing with Partholón's invasion, were located on the River Erne. Both sites, however, are quite a long way away from Tory Island, the stronghold of the Fomoraige oppressors. Hogan's site benefits from being on the coast and we must remember that in the early ages water-ways were an assistance not a hindrance to travel. The site Macalister favoured has the benefit that it is central to the Nemedain invasion sites, but the geographical location seems too far from Tory Island to be feasible. On that score the alternative location in Tirconnel mentioned by Hogan (ibid.) would be attractive; but the weight of medieval testimony puts 'Mag Cétne na bhfomhorach' between the rivers Erne and Drowes.

Fir Bolg:

Ni hairmithir raitha naid clidida do chlaidi, na loch do maidm,
na muigi do slaidi, la Feraib Bolg.

No forts or entrenchments are reckoned as having been dug, nor lakes to have burst forth, nor plains to have been cleared, in the time of the Fir Bolg. (Macalister 1987²: 12-13)

By rights the above quotation should have made this a relatively short section, especially since all three recensions contain a version of it. However, Fir Bolg creation sites are discussed within the section of the text that contains the account of the Túatha Dé Danann invasion. Also, despite the above, thirteen sites, located mostly in the south of Ireland, that are named by the Fir Bolg. Several of these thirteen named sites are also named within the invasion of the Túatha Dé Danann and have the same people bearing the same names associated with them in both invasions. Macalister feels that this section was 'a separate story which has become incorporated in all three texts.' (Macalister 1987²: 78). This would certainly explain why it appears in two separate invasions, though the fact that the overlap of names is not complete compels us to be cautious.

The only site named that is not a part of this section but is within the Fir Bolg invasion, is in fact *Dind Ríg* also called *Duma Slaini* within our text (Macalister 1987²: 19). This is an earthwork overlooking the Barrow River, now known as Burgage Motte. It received its name when one of the invasion leaders, Sláine, the eldest son of Dela, died there. He is also said to have been the first of the Fir Bolg to die in Ireland. This is the third time we have encountered this phenomenon and can safely regard it as a consistency. As to the other sites, no reason is given within the text of LGÉ to explain why they are associated with the specific individual who is their eponym. Their identifications are as follows³¹:

³¹ For the modern place names see Macalister 1987²: 81-2. The textual associations of *Loch Cimme*, *Mag nAdair*, *Mag Main* and *Loch nÚair* see Macalister 1987²: 25; for *Rind Tamain* and *Dún Áengusa* see Macalister 1987²: 11; for *Carn Conaill*, *Mag nAsail*, and *Druim nAsail* see Macalister 1987²: 13.

<u>Place Name in text</u>	<u>Modern Place Name</u>	<u>Person Associated</u>
Loch Cimme	Loch Hacked	Cimbe Chethir-chend
Rind Tamain	Towan Point	Taman mac Úmóir
Dún Áengusa	Dún Áengusa	Óengus mac Úmóir
Carn Conaill	Ballyconnell	Conall mac Úmóir
Mag nAdair	'near Quirn'	Adar mac Úmóir
Mag nAsail	Rathconrath	Asal mac Úmóir ³²
Druim nAsail	Tory Hill	Asal mac Úmóir
Mag Main	'near Loughrea'	Main mac Úmóir
Loch nÚair	Loch Owel	Úar mac Úmóir
Modlinn	Clew Bay	unassociated ³³
Rind na mBera	Kinvarra	unassociated
Loch Cuthra	Loch Cuthra	unassociated

We may turn now to the created sites of the Fir Bolg that are listed within the Túatha Dé Danann's invasion sequence. The three sites in question are attributed to Eochaid mac Erc, who was the first king of the Fir Bolg (Macalister 1987²: 179). These sites are: *Carn in Áenfhir*, located either in Tara or Moytura (Hogan 1910: 162); *Druim Cáin*, modern location unknown; and *Tulach in Triar ar Themair*, which is believed to be near modern Benna Boirchi (Hogan 1910: 656).

Once again, we find the king of the Fir Bolg is presiding over the act of creation, in keeping with the convention or principle already identified, whereby only the ruling family is deemed capable of being the creators and manipulators of the landscape. This principle could extend to the sons of Úmóir if we were to accept Macalister's theory that the Fir Bolg are related to the Fomoraige (Macalister 1987²: 3-4). For Macalister connects the sons of Úmóir to *Sliab Emoír*, the origination of the Fomoraige. If this hypothesis

³² Macalister felt that because of the placement of *Druim nAsail* in the list, that *Mag nAsail* is simply a scribal error (Macalister 1987²: 80).

³³ A poet named Mead mac Úmóir exists in the literature (Macalister 1987²: 37) without an associated place name. It could be *Modlinn* that he is associated with.

were correct, it would give an elevated status to the leaders of the Fir Bolg refugees in a kind of "sons of the homeland" identification. This process reoccurs in a slightly different fashion with Míl when he is called Míl Espáine.

Túatha Dé Danann:

We turn now to the penultimate invasion, that of the Túatha Dé Danann. Discounting the six sites which overlap with those of the Fir Bolg,³⁴ ten sites are named, four sites are created and three further sites are named by their eponymous creators. I will begin with the creation sites. Three sites are created by Tuirill Biccree in a short section I will call *The Sickness of Tuirill Biccree* (Macalister 1987²: 137). To summarize the creation episode: Tuirill belches forth three times, each time creating a loch. These are *Loch nAinid* (Loch Ennell), *Loch nIairn* (Loch Iron), and *Loch nÚair* (Loch Owel) (Macalister 1987²: 303). Both *Loch nAinid* and *Loch nÚair* have been created in previous invasions: *Loch nAinid* in Nemed's and *Loch nÚair* in that of the Fir Bolg. In both instances the previous acts of creation are simply ignored.

The final creation site of the Túatha Dé Danann is that of *Síd Broga*, near Cnogba on the left bank of the River Boyne (Hogan 1910: 598). This involves several points of interest. It was created by what we now recognize as a typical method: the burial-place for a king. Here is where the conventional elements end, however. For this is the burial site of The Dagda and his sons, as created by the 'men of Ireland' (Macalister 1987²: 121, 151, 181). It is referred to in Recension 2 and 3 as *sídh* or *síd*, i.e. the usual Irish word for a fairy mound. This is not unexpected when dealing with The Dagda, as he is one of the best-known "father" deities in the Celtic pantheon. However, the point to note specifically here is that the text states that 'the men of Ireland'

³⁴ They are: *Carn Conaill*, *Dún Aengusa*, *Loch Cimme*, *Mag nAdair*, *Mag nAsail*, and *Rind Tamain*.

create the *sid*. We will see later, when the Meic Miled defeat the Túatha Dé Danann in the Second Battle of Mag Tuired, that the Túatha Dé Danann retire to the *sid*. This leads me to wonder if, within this section, the 'men of Ireland' are the Túatha Dé Danann themselves, regarded by our authors as 'we' in opposition to the 'they' of the Fir Bolg. Alternatively, I wonder whether it could contain an allusion to the Meic Miled exiling the Túatha Dé Danann to the *sid*?

The next set of locations to examine are those that bear the names of their eponymous creators. *Loch Oirbsen*, now Loch Corrib, and the presumably related *Mag nOirbsean*, both sites take their names from Manannán, who the text also notes is called Oirbsen (Macalister 1987²: 129, 193). The only details we receive about the location of the plain is that *Loch Oirbsen* is on it (Hogan 1910: 528). The other two sites of this type are named after a woman, Tailtiu. She was originally the queen of the Fir Bolg and the daughter of the king of Spain. She married, or had relations with, two of the Túatha Dé Danann (Macalister 1987²: 115-17). She is commemorated in *Tailtiu*, now Teltown, in Meath (Hogan 1910: 619-20), and in *Forud Tailten*, ie 'the mound or hill of Teltown' (Hogan 1910: 430). Bearing in mind the festival and other associations attested for Tailtiu, one begins to see in Tailtiu yet another manifestation of the sovereignty goddess (cf. Ó hÓgáin 1990: 144).

Now a brief discussion of the named locations, we again see the phenomenon of animals lending their names to features. These sites are as follows: *Mag Criba* (no identifiable location); *Mag Teitherne* (no identifiable location); *Mag Femin* (the plain between Cashel and Clonmel); and *Mag Fea* (Slievenaman).³⁵

The animals to which they correspond are: Criba the king of wrens (or

³⁵ The references for the modern locations are: Hogan 1910: 516; Hogan 1910: 531; Macalister 1987: 84; and Macalister 1987²: 299 respectively.

wethers); Triath the king of boars; Fea and Femen (or Fe and Mean)³⁶ the royal oxen. All of the above animals were owned by Brigit the daughter of The Dagda and had supernatural properties.

Cíchi Anand or *Dá Chích Anann* are the Paps Mountains (Macalister 1987²: 299) are associated with Anu, who is usually the daughter of Ernbaís the she-farmer (Macalister 1987²: 123, 183) but is also referred to once as the Morrígan (Macalister 1987²: 161). Another site with manifestly supernatural properties is *Sliab na Trí Dé* which, both Macalister and Hogan agree, does not exist in any modern location (Macalister 1987²: 300, Hogan 1910: 611). This mountain is supposedly named after the three gods of the Túatha Dé Danann (Macalister 1987²: 129, 161, 193). Of *Mag mBróin*, which has been cautiously placed as Killyborne (Hogan 1910: 515), we are only told that it was named after Brón mac Allóit (Macalister 1987²: 193). Again we see *Mag Cétni*, which was cited above as having been named for Céti mac Allóit. However, on this occasion we can explain the naming of the site after Céti mac Allóit quite neatly as the renaming of a previously mentioned site.

As in the earlier invasions, the creators and name givers are from within the ruling class. We also see the addition of a manifestly supernatural element in the appearance of known deities (Brigit, The Dagda, and Anu/Morrígan). Additionally, the names of supernatural animals are used to create place-names. The invasion of the Túatha Dé Danann seems to focus on plains, with only a limited number of lochs or mountain locations. These locations do not appear to be associated with any circumscribed geographical area. Instead, the majority of the sites range from Meath in the lower northern half of Ireland to Clare in the upper southern half, although, as we have seen, there are several sites outwith this area.

³⁶ The names in brackets are found only in Recension 2 (Macalister 1987²: 159).

Meic Míled:

Because of the sheer bulk of material to be dealt with under the Meic Míled, it will be expedient to sub-divide Macalister's primary division of the text and to re-define the section boundary. I will be looking at the locations named and created, up to and including the reign of Éremón and Éber. Macalister splits Éremón between two of his sections, *The Sons of Mil* and *The Roll of the Kings*, whereas I will be starting my discussion of the Pre-Christian Kings with Íriel Fáid mac Érimóin.

Íth mac Breógain

To begin I offer a list of the locations named or created during the time of Íth mac Breogain:

<u>Place Name in text</u>	<u>Modern Place Name</u>
Ailiuch Néit ³⁷	north of Ulster
Loch Febail	Loch Foyle
Loch Sailech	Loch Sallagh
Luimnech	first estuary of the Shannon
Mag Ítha	in County Wicklow

The only site worthy of remark is *Mag Ítha*, where Íth was killed by the three kings of the Túatha Dé Danann (Macalister 1995: 19). There is also an interesting interpolation that bequeaths the name of *Mag Ítha* to every site upon which Íth had landed:

F.

Nach port i tticed Íth i nÉirind, iar murgabáil nach tír i r-roibe,
is Mag nÍtha, a ainm; ic Loch Febail, Mag nÍtha, ic Loch
Sail[ech], Fothard Itha, Mag Ítha las na Déssi, Mag Ítha oc
Luimnech.

³⁷ Attributed to Nét mac Innui of Ailech (Macalister 1995: 15) for location see Hogan 1910: 17.

Every harbour whereto Íth would come in Ireland, after coasting every territory where it was, Mag Ítha is its name; Mag Ítha at Loch Febail, the Lands of Íth [sic; Mag Ítha MS] at Loch Sailech, Mag Ítha among the Déssi, Mag Ítha at Luimnech. (Macalister 1995:18-19)

All the place names in the passage above have already been discussed in the context of previous invasions. Hence it appears that the present passage has a main function of re-associating sites with the invasion of the Meic Míled. Indeed, the location of the sites give the appearance that the passage is another example of circumnavigating Ireland in order to take it. That is to say, that we have here a latent or undeveloped 'Invasion of Íth'.

The next grouping consist of locations named after Íth yet before the Meic Míled divide Ireland:

<u>Place Name in Text</u>	<u>Modern Place Name</u>	<u>Person Associated</u>
Mag mBreg	plain covering E. Meath ³⁸	Brega mac Breogain
Corco Láí[g]di	West Cork ³⁹	Lugaid mac Ítha
Sliab Fúait	highest peak of The Fews ⁴⁰	Fúad mac Breogain
Sliab Cuailgne	Mountains of Cooley ⁴¹	Cuailgne mac Breogain
Ros Náir	Slieve Bloom ⁴²	Náir mac Breogain/Bile
Sliab nEblinde	Slieve Riach ⁴³	Eblindi mac Breg
Sliab Bladma	Slieve Bloom ⁴⁴	Blad mac Breogain

³⁸ Hogan 1910: 514

³⁹ Hogan 1910: 294

⁴⁰ Hogan 1910: 605

⁴¹ Hogan 1910: 607

⁴² Hogan 1910: 584 (s.v. Ros n-Áir)

⁴³ Hogan 1910: 608

⁴⁴ Hogan 1910: 605

<u>Place Name in Text</u>	<u>Modern Place Name</u>	<u>Person Associated</u>
Sliab Cuilind	Slieve Cuillinn ⁴⁵	Cualu mac Breogain
Mag Muirthemne	maritime plain Co. Louth ⁴⁶	Muirthemne mac Breogain ⁴⁷
Inber Scéne	Shannon Estuary ⁴⁸	Scéne wife of Amairgen and Airennán mac Míled
Fert Fáise or Fert Scota ⁴⁹	near Slieve Mish ⁵⁰	Fás wife of Uige
Glen Faise	Glenofaush ⁵¹	Fás wife of Uige ⁵²
Loch Lughdech	Curran Loch or Loch Luigheach ⁵³	Lugaid mac Ítha
Inber Féile	River Bann ⁵⁴	Fial wife of Lugaid
Sliáb Mis	Slieve Mish Mts. ⁵⁵	Meic Míled ⁵⁶

In the latter group the last seven sites have short naming stories. *Inber Scéne* was named for Scéne, the wife of the poet Amairgen mac Míled. She died at sea near this estuary and so it was given her name. She and Airennán mac Míled are said to be buried there. Airennán died from falling from the mast of

⁴⁵ Hogan 1910: 607

⁴⁶ Macalister 1987: 191

⁴⁷ For all the place names and their associated people to here see Macalister 1995: 21-3.

⁴⁸ Macalister 1987: 84

⁴⁹ Macalister 1995: 61

⁵⁰ Hogan 1910: 412

⁵¹ Hogan 1910: 442

⁵² Macalister 1995: 59

⁵³ Hogan 1910: 501

⁵⁴ Hogan 1910: 458

⁵⁵ Hogan 1910: 610

⁵⁶ All of the above locations and name-givers are in Macalister 1995: 31-37.

the ship near *Inber Scéne* (Macalister 1995: 31). *Fert Fáise*, *Fert Scota* and *Glen Fáise* can be discussed together. *Fert Fáise* and *Fert Scota* are located on *Glen Fáise* and are the burial sites of two of the queens who died at the battle of *Sliáb Mis* (Macalister 1995: 59-61).

Loch Lughdech and *Inber Féile* are named in a single story. This story tells of how a woman died of shame when her husband came upon her bathing. The woman, *Fial*, and her husband *Lugaid*, give their names to the loch and its tributary river. The story itself will be discussed below in more detail. *Loch Lughdech* is also a created site, although it is simply said to have burst over the land (Macalister 1995: 61). The final place name in this group is *Sliáb Mis*. It has aetiological place name stories. The first is from the meeting of the *Meic Míled* with *Ériu*. *Ériu* formed hosts with sods of earth from the mountain and this is how it received its name (Macalister 1995: 37, 53) - an anecdote which is replete with mythological symbolism. The second is in the form of a statement that *Sliáb Mis* was 'the worst mountain which the sons [of *Míl*] had come across in Ireland' where a fancied etymological connection with *messa* 'worse, worst' is supposed to have given the mountain its name (Macalister 1995: 61).

The next three sites were named after the division of Ireland. *Inber Colptha*, now the Boyne Estuary (Macalister 1987²: 77), was named for *Colptha mac Míled*, the first person of this invasion to have landed there (Macalister 1995: 41). The last two sites are quite similar to those of *Tailtiu* in the *Túatha Dé Danann* invasion above, though with a different woman as the name-giver. They are *Temair* (Macalister 1995: 63), now Tara Hill (Hogan 1910: 629-30), and *Druim Cain .i. Temair* (Macalister 1995: 83), now Tara Breg (Hogan 1910: 359). Both are named for *Tea*, daughter of *Lugaid*. This association with *Tea* rids Tara of its overt pagan naming and possible connections with the earlier sovereignty goddess, *Tailtiu*.

Now we come to the created features in the Meic Míled invasion. In Macalister's translation there is a paragraph that lists twenty-four names of plains which the Meic Míled cleared, named after their twenty-four servitors (Macalister 1995: 63). Most of these features have already been addressed above and the rest have no known location. Therefore, I do not think it is necessary to detail these names here. There are thirty-three other sites created in this invasion. However, two of these are the same site but attributed to two different people. For simplicity's sake I have divided the sites between the two kings Érimón and Éber, and their respective under-lords, as distinguished within the text (Macalister 1995: 65). Then I will discuss the sites each under-lord was responsible for creating.

Érimón:

The majority of sites are created under Érimóin. The following locations are said to have simply burst forth:

Textual Place Name:

Loch Cimme⁵⁷
 Loch Buadhaigh⁵⁸
 Loch Bagha⁶⁰
 Loch Réin⁶²

Modern Place Name:

Loch Hacked
 Loch Boy⁵⁹
 Loch Baad⁶¹
 Loch Reane⁶³

⁵⁷ Macalister 1995: 163, 159. Note: this site was originally a Fir Bolg site that was also placed in the Túatha Dé Danann invasion, now being claimed again.

⁵⁸ Macalister 1995: 163, 159

⁵⁹ Hogan 1910: 496

⁶⁰ Macalister 1995: 163

⁶¹ Hogan 1910: 495

⁶² Macalister 1995: 163, 159

⁶³ Hogan 1910: 503

Textual Place Name:

Loch Finnmaighe⁶⁴

Loch Gréine⁶⁶

Loch Riach⁶⁸

Loch Dá Cáech⁷⁰

Loch Laigh⁷²

teora Socc⁷⁴

Ethne⁷⁶

Fregobail⁷⁸

Modern Place Name:

Loch Findmaige⁶⁵

Loch Graney⁶⁷

Lochrea⁶⁹

Waterford Harbour⁷¹

Belfast Loch⁷³

River Suck (and tributaries)⁷⁵

River Inny⁷⁷

Ravel Water⁷⁹

⁶⁴ Macalister 1995: 163, 159

⁶⁵ Hogan 1910: 498

⁶⁶ Macalister 1995: 163, 159

⁶⁷ Hogan 1910: 499

⁶⁸ Macalister 1995: 163, 159

⁶⁹ Hogan 1910: 503

⁷⁰ Macalister 1995: 163, 159

⁷¹ Hogan 1910: 497

⁷² Macalister 1995: 163, 159

⁷³ Hogan 1910: 500

⁷⁴ Macalister 1995: 163, 159

⁷⁵ Hogan 1910: 618

⁷⁶ Macalister 1995: 163

⁷⁷ Hogan 1910: 403-4

⁷⁸ Macalister 1995: 163

⁷⁹ Hogan 1910: 431

Textual Place Name:

secht Ríge Lagen⁸⁰

secht mBrosnacha Éle⁸²

Modern Place Name:

Ridgethat divides Meath &
Leinster⁸¹

River Kerry⁸³

Érimón is also credited with the digging of two raths, *Ráith Bethach* (Macalister 1995: 69) and *Ráith Oinn* (Macalister 1995: 69), also known as *Ráith Anninn* (Macalister 1995: 169). The location for these are the modern sites of Rathveagh and Rathdown (Hogan 1910: 567), respectively. The text states that there were six lords under Éremóin but only gives the names of four of them (Macalister 1995: 165). We now turn to the sites these under-lords created.

Mandtán is responsible for four sites having been dug. They are: *Cairrge Bláraighe* (Macalister 1995: 69, 157), now Murloch Bay (Hogan 1910: 553); *Dún Chermna* (Macalister 1995: 157), now Down Patrick (Hogan 1910: 379); *Dún Binni* (Macalister 1995: 157), location unknown (Hogan 1910: 377), and in one redaction he is accredited with *Dún Sobairchi* (Macalister 1995: 157), now Dunseverick (Hogan 1910: 389) which is also associated with Sobairce as we will see below.

Caicher is only accredited with one site, *Dún Airdfinne* (Macalister 1995: 69), now Doonfeeny (Hogan 1910: 384). While Én mac Occie and Étan mac Occie are accredited with two sites each. The sites attributed to Én are *Cairrce Árd da Fetaig* (Macalister 1995: 69) and *Ráith Croch* (Macalister 1995: 159).

⁸⁰ Macalister 1995: 159

⁸¹ Hogan 1910: 581

⁸² Macalister 1995: 159

⁸³ Hogan 1910: 129

The first is not given a modern location by either Macalister or Hogan, and the second has the vague location of 'in Mag Inis in Ulster' by Hogan (Hogan 1910: 570). Étan's sites are *Ráith Áird Suird* (Macalister 1995: 69), and *Ráith Rígbaird* (Macalister 1995: 159). The second site we will see is attributed to Fulmán in Recension 1.

Éber:

Éber is accredited with the digging of a single ráith, *Ráith Fuamain* (Macalister 1995: 69), which is given the vague location of 'in Leinster' by Hogan (Hogan 1910: 572). In Macalister's *The Roll of the Kings* it is called *Ráith Uamain* (Macalister 1995: 165), which appears to be a scribal dropping of the initial 'F'. This site is given a much more tangible location of Rathowen in Wexford (Hogan 1910: 578) which also fits with the Leinster location.

We are told that Éber has five lords under him, but six are listed within the text. It is an obvious guess that one or two of these lords should actually be placed under Érimón but it is uncertain which. The only information we have to help us narrow our choices is the place-names themselves, and both *Ráith Rígbaird* and *Dúin Sobairchi* appear under both kings. However, they are created by characters in each case: *Ráith Rígbaird* is created by Mandtán under Éremón, and by Fulmán under Éber; while *Dúin Sobairce* is similarly created by Étan or Sobairce. Since the information available does not permit a resolution of the difficulty I propose to leave the under-lords as they appear in the text.

Amairgen, Sétga, Suirge, and Sobairce have only one creation site attributed to each. They are respectively: *Tochu Inber Mór* (Macalister 1995: 69, 159), eg. *Tóchar Inbir Móir*, now Giants Causeway (Hogan 1910:641); *Dún Delg-innse* (Macalister 1995: 69), now the fort on Dalkey Island (Hogan 1910: 382); *Dún Étair* (Macalister 1995: 69), which keeps its name in Howth

(Hogan 1910: 381); and presumably *Dún Sobairchi* (as above), though we are only told that Sobairce built his fortress (Macalister 1995: 69, 167) and do not learn its name.

Fulmán is originally accredited with *Ráith Rígbaird* (Macalister 1995: 69) as we saw above. Additionally, he is said to have built *Ráith Sailech* (Macalister 1995: 159), currently unlocatable, unless it is Rathsallagh in County Wicklow as suggested by Hogan (Hogan 1910: 577). Goiscen has created only one site but it is given two names within the text: *Cathrair Náir* (Macalister 1995: 69, 167) and *Dún Náir* (Macalister 1995: 167). Both of these are given vague locations in the text and Hogan has merely specified location within the Slieve Mish Mountains for *Cathrair Náir*. We may turn now to the pre-Christian Kings.

Pre-Christian Kings:

Íriel Fáid mac Érimóin:

Íriel Fáid is stated to have cleared twelve plains and dug seven forts. There are no naming stories to go with them, so for the sake of simplicity I will merely list these sites:

Textual Place Names:

Mag Rechet⁸⁴

Mag Eli⁸⁶

Mag Commair⁸⁸

Modern Place Names:

Morett⁸⁵

Moyelly⁸⁷

Muckamore⁸⁹

⁸⁴ Macalister 1995: 189, 191

⁸⁵ Hogan 1910: 529

⁸⁶ Macalister 1995: 189, 191

⁸⁷ Hogan 1910: 518

⁸⁸ Macalister 1995: 189

Textual Place Names:

Mag Sléibe⁹⁰
Mag Sanais⁹²
Mag nDairbrech⁹⁴
Mag nAirbrech⁹⁶
Mag Techt⁹⁸
Mag Lugna¹⁰⁰
Mag Luirg¹⁰²
Mag Faithne¹⁰⁴
Mag Foithin¹⁰⁶

Modern Place Names:

no location given⁹¹
no location given⁹³
in Meath or Westmeath⁹⁵
in Meath⁹⁷
no location given⁹⁹
in Connachta¹⁰¹
Moylurg¹⁰³
in Oriel¹⁰⁵
no location given¹⁰⁷

⁸⁹ Hogan 1910: 515

⁹⁰ Macalister 1995: 189, 191

⁹¹ Hogan 1910: 531

⁹² Macalister 1995: 189, 191

⁹³ Hogan 1910: 530

⁹⁴ Macalister 1995: 189

⁹⁵ Hogan 1910: 517

⁹⁶ Macalister 1995: 191

⁹⁷ Hogan 1910: 512

⁹⁸ Macalister 1995: 189

⁹⁹ Hogan 1910: 531

¹⁰⁰ Macalister 1995: 189

¹⁰¹ Hogan 1910: 524

¹⁰² Macalister 1995: 191

¹⁰³ Hogan 1910: 525

¹⁰⁴ Macalister 1995: 189

¹⁰⁵ Hogan 1910: 520

¹⁰⁶ Macalister 1995: 191

Textual Place Names:

Mag Inis¹⁰⁸

Mag Cúli Feda¹¹⁰

Ráith Croich¹¹²

Ráith Croichne¹¹³

Ráith Bachair¹¹⁴

Ráith Bachaill¹¹⁶

Ráith Chuingeda¹¹⁷

Ráith Modig¹¹⁹

Ráith Mothaich¹²¹

Ráith Buirg¹²²

Modern Place Names:

in Co. Down¹⁰⁹

in Oriel¹¹¹

in Co. Down

possibly a form of the last

in Ulster¹¹⁵

possibly a form of the last

Island Magee¹¹⁸

in Co. Donegal¹²⁰

possibly a form of the last

in Co. Donegal¹²³

¹⁰⁷ Hogan 1910: 520

¹⁰⁸ Macalister 1995: 189

¹⁰⁹ Hogan 1910: 522

¹¹⁰ Macalister 1995: 189, 191

¹¹¹ Hogan 1910: 516

¹¹² Macalister 1995: 189

¹¹³ Macalister 1995: 191

¹¹⁴ Macalister 1995: 189

¹¹⁵ Hogan 1910: 567

¹¹⁶ Macalister 1995: 191

¹¹⁷ Macalister 1995: 189

¹¹⁸ Hogan 1910: 570

¹¹⁹ Macalister 1995: 189

¹²⁰ Hogan 1910: 574

¹²¹ Macalister 1995: 191

¹²² Macalister 1995: 189

¹²³ Hogan 1910: 568

Textual Place Names:

Ráith Buirech¹²⁴

Ráith Lochit¹²⁵

Mag Midhi¹²⁷

Fernmuige¹²⁹

Mag Coba¹³¹

Mag Cumai¹³³

Mag Riata¹³⁵

Ráith Cimbaith¹³⁷

trí Find¹³⁹

trí Comghe¹⁴⁰

Modern Place Names:

possibly a form of the last

in Co. Westmeath¹²⁶

in Co. Meath¹²⁸

Farney, Co Monaghan¹³⁰

in Iveagh¹³²

in Breifne¹³⁴

Moyrett¹³⁶

Navan Ring¹³⁸

no location given

no location given

¹²⁴ Macalister 1995: 191

¹²⁵ Macalister 1995: 189, 191

¹²⁶ Hogan 1910: 573

¹²⁷ Macalister 1995: 191

¹²⁸ Hogan 1910: 526

¹²⁹ Macalister 1995: 191

¹³⁰ Hogan 1910: 411

¹³¹ Macalister 1995: 191

¹³² Hogan 1910: 515

¹³³ Macalister 1995: 191

¹³⁴ Hogan 1910: 516

¹³⁵ Macalister 1995: 191

¹³⁶ Hogan 1910: 529

¹³⁷ Macalister 1995: 191

¹³⁸ Hogan 1910: 569

¹³⁹ Macalister 1995: 191

¹⁴⁰ Macalister 1995: 191

Textual Place Names:

Suir¹⁴¹

Féle Ercre¹⁴³

Modern Place Names:

Siur River¹⁴²

River Feale, Co. Kerry¹⁴⁴

Ethrial mac Íriel Fáid:

Within the text, seven plains and three rivers are attributed to Ethrial. Once again there are no naming stories to go with them.

Textual Place Name:

Mag Belaig

Mag Rath

Lochmag

Loch Ligat

Mag Gesilli

Mag Ochtair

Mag Lugair

Caland

Torann

Modern Place Name:

in Co. Antrim¹⁴⁵

Moirá, in Iveagh, Co. Down¹⁴⁶

uncertain¹⁴⁷

no location given¹⁴⁸

no information given

Moyeoghter¹⁴⁹

Moccu Ingair¹⁵⁰

tributary of Blackwater River¹⁵¹

tributary of Blackwater River¹⁵²

¹⁴¹ Macalister 1995: 193

¹⁴² Hogan 1910: 603

¹⁴³ Macalister 1995: 193

¹⁴⁴ Hogan 1910: 408

¹⁴⁵ Hogan 1910: 513

¹⁴⁶ Hogan 1910: 528

¹⁴⁷ Hogan 1910: 502

¹⁴⁸ Hogan 1910: 524

¹⁴⁹ Hogan 1910: 529

¹⁵⁰ Hogan 1910: 540

¹⁵¹ Hogan 1910: 152

¹⁵² Hogan 1910: 642

Textual Place Names:

Fubna¹⁵³

Tenmag

Modern Place Names:

tributary of Blackwater River¹⁵⁴

no information given

Conmael mac Ébir:

There is only one site attributed to Conmael, *Aénach Macha* (Macalister 1995: 201), placed by Hogan as 'on a hill of Druim Conmaeil' (Hogan 1910: 559, cf. 412), i.e. near Armagh.

Tigernmas mac Ollaig:

Tigernmas is credited with creating fifteen sites. However, six of these we have already met with in connection with his predecessors. They are: the rivers *Calland*, *Fubna*, and *Torann*; *Loch Febail*; *Loch nIaraind* and *Loch nUáir*. All these locations are said to have simply burst or been cleared, and there are only two short naming statements within this section. The first, in relation to *Loch Febail*, states simply that it burst over Febal (Macalister 1995: 205). The second, speaking of *Loch nAillila Callraide* (otherwise *Loch Aille* or *Loch Ailimne*: see Hogan 1910: 491, 494) or *Lind Tola Tuili Tobair*, a loch that is tentatively placed in Carbury in Sligo (Hogan 1910: 142), tells that it received the former name when Allindi daughter of Roma drowned while swimming in it (Macalister 1995: 207).

The rest of Tigernmas's sites are: *Dubloch Árda*, now Black Loch (Hogan 1910: 372); *Mag Fuinnsighe*, which retained its name (Hogan 1910: 521); as for *Loch Dabal*, Hogan tells us a Loch Dabhall exists near the Blackwater Rivers (Hogan 1910: 260); *Loch Gabur*, we are told, is now dried up but was near Dundhaughlin (Hogan 1910: 499); *Loch Silendi*, which we are only told

¹⁵³ For all the place names and their association to Ethriel see Macalister 1995: 195-97.

¹⁵⁴ Hogan 1910: 432

that it is in *Mag Femen* (discussed under the Túatha Dé Danann invasion) (Hogan 1910: 504); *Loch Cé*, is Loch Key in Roscommon (Hogan 1910: 496); and *Loch Melge* is Loch Melvin (Hogan 1910: 502; Macalister 1995: 202-07).

Cermna & Sobairce:

Cermna and Sobairce have one site attributed to each of them. *Dún Cermna* is attributed to Cermna and *Dún Sobairce* is attributed to Sobairce. The modern locations are Down Patrick and Dunseverick respectively. We have seen these sites before under different kings. It is difficult to know if those were their original naming and they were later incorporated into the Meic Míled, or vice versa. Beyond this, there is little of interest concerning these sites for the purpose of this investigation.

Eochu Fáebarglas mac Conmáel:

There are seven sites listed for Eochu (Macalister 1995: 213-217) but we have no modern locations for four of them. Those sites are: *Mag Dá Gabul* (Hogan 1910: 517); *Mag Mende* (Hogan 1910: 526); *Mag Smerthach* (Hogan 1910: 530-1); and *Mag nEmir* (Hogan 1910: 519). Of the other sites attributed to Eochu, *Mag Lemna* is in modern County Tyrone (Hogan 1910: 523); *Mag Fubna*, is probably the district of Fubna in County Tyrone (Hogan 1910: 521); and *Mag nAidne* is now the district of Kilmacdugh in county Galway (Hogan 1910: 511).

Fiachu Labrainne:

Fiachu Labrainne has had only one site attributed to him, *Loch Érne* (Macalister 1995: 219). We have encountered this site in previous invasions, but not in a name giving context.

Oengus Ollmucad:

Whilst Oengus Ollmucad does not lack for sites attributed to him, Hogan does not offer modern equivalents for any of them, and some he is unable to locate at all. Therefore I have merely listed their names:

*Mag Macrima*¹⁵⁵

Locha Airdchais

Mag Luachra Dedad

Loch Aenbeithi

Mag Cúli Cóel

Mag Arcaill

Loch Cassan

Mag Glinni Dechon

Mag nÓenscaid

Fiachu Findoiches:

Fiachu Findoiches is another with only one site attributed to him; *Dún Cúili Sibrilli .i. Cenannas*. This is the modern site of Kells (Hogan 1910: 215). It is interesting to speculate on the reasons for linking the Christian religious site with possible pre-Christian associations and pagan connotations.

Ollom Fothla:

Ollom Fothla is also attributed with only one site, but it is a creation site. He is responsible for '*Úr nOlloman*' or the 'Scholars' Rampart in Temair' (Macalister 1995: 294-5). This is supposedly the set of raking earthworks on the hill of Tara. Again, it is interesting to note the ramifications of this link-up, on the part of the LGÉ culture, between the prehistoric period, the Milesian invasion and Tara.

Bresal Bódíbad:

Bresal Bódíbad is responsible for two creation sites: *Fán in Tamaisci* ('The Slope of the Heifer') and *Duma In Tairb* ('The Burial Mound of the Bull').

We have no modern location for either of the two, and perhaps we should not

¹⁵⁵This presumably is the famous *Mag Muccrama* 'The Plain of Pig-Counting': cf. Oengus's epithet *Ollmucaid* 'Great Swine-herd' for motivation.

expect one.

Lugaid Riad nDerg:

Lugaid Riad nDerg is responsible for two sites, again, for which there are no modern locations: *Loch Eachach* and *Loch Rib*.

Túathal Techtmar:

Two rivers burst forth when Túathal Techtmar was killed by Mál mac Rochraide (Macalister 1995: 321). They are the *Olor* and the *Olorba*. There are no modern associations for these rivers. Another site that mentioned during Túathal Techtmar's reign is the naming of *Dún Truach* for Truach of the Fir Bolg. It is the site where Truach was killed (Macalister 1995: 313). There is no modern site associated with *Dún Truach*.

Mál mac Rochraide:

The final sites of the pre-Christian kings are seen within the text under the reign of Mál mac Rochraide. The first, *Cnoc Báine*, is actually the grave site of his murderess, Báine daughter of Scáil Bailb (Macalister 1995: 329). The second site (also attributed to Báine) is *Ráith Mór* but although we can infer that the two were located close together we do not have a definitive site for them (Hogan 1910: 575).

Christian Kings:

Lóegaire mac Néill:

The final site to be mentioned in this section is that of *Ard Macha*, now Armagh, which was "founded" by Lóegaire mac Néill (Macalister 1995: 353). As advocated above, this "founding" would have had an impact in two ways: first, it would have given a measure of ancient dignity to the site of Armagh and secondly, one would assume, it would have legitimized the right of the

mac Néill to rule as their founders.

Elaborate versus Short Statements in Place Name Lore:

Before concluding this section it is worth making a preliminary analysis of the differences between elaborate and short narratives for naming or creating. For there are clearly two distinct levels of treatment involved. As mentioned above, some places are said merely to have burst into being or simply to have been cleared, while others are accorded a considerably more involved creation account. A priori one would expect that important sites or features would have lengthy or involved tales connected to them and less important sites would have simpler accounts. Alternatively, prestigious name-givers could be expected to have been associated with sites of consequence, which hence attracted fuller treatment. However, as our survey of the relevant material will have demonstrated, practically all the sites discussed are associated with the ruling families of the invasions and their supporters. So the criteria of importance of name-giver is not much help. Some other principle (or principles) would seem to be indicated.

Within the Cessair invasion all the place-name explanations are short. Bith was buried within his stone-heap, Ladra was placed under the soil, 'Fintan's Grave' comes from Fintan, and *Cúl Cessrach* comes from Cessair (Macalister 1996: 183). All four of these sites vary in type, but are seen in the landscape as mountain sites, with some form of earthwork involved. These are not sites that would have been inhabited, nor do they appear as major religious centres.

Five of the seven lochs of the Partholón invasion are simply stated to have burst from the landscape apparently, in acts of self-creation by Ireland (Macalister 1987: 15). The last two lochs were created when graves were dug, but these are still single-sentence statements within the text. The first four plains are simply recorded as having been cleared (Macalister 1987:11). The

burial of Fea is also a single sentence within a gloss on the text for the explicit purpose of naming his plain (Macalister 1987: 13).

The sites that have the most involved place-name lore are *Dá Égond* and *Inis Saimér*. These are in the passage which Macalister calls the *Appendix to Partholón* and in what I have previously called *The Seduction of Topa and Jealousy of Partholón*. These episodes which appear to have had the major purpose of providing the place-name lore for the sites. The sites themselves, if we use Hogan's location, were near sites named within the Fomoraige invasion, as *Mag Cétni*, which is near the River Erne. Additionally, the above site appears to be a site of inhabitation rather than a natural feature.

Turning to the Fomoraige, we have seen that Fomoraige site of *Mag Cétni* has an involved-place name story attached to it within this sequence (Macalister 1987: 139-41). Only two other sites within the Nemed invasion sequence are more than single statements of their name-creation. The first is *Ard Macha*, which involves the marital status of Macha as the wife of Nemed, and records that hers is the first death of the invasion (Macalister 1987: 133). The second is the digging of *Ráith Cindeich*. The text tells us that the digging was accomplished by the four Fomoraige brothers, that it was dug in a day and that the brothers were killed 'before they [could complete] their digging.' (Macalister 1987: 133). Once again it seems that sites which would have involved settlement, human labour and habitation are targeted for more elaborate place-name stories.

There are no elaborate place-name tales within the Fir Bolg invasion sequence. However, within the Túatha Dé Danann sequence we see a changed emphasis with greater elaboration reserved for the three lochs that are created in *The Sickness of Tuirill Biccreo* (Macalister 1987²: 137). It appears that the main purpose of *The Sickness of Tuirill Biccreo* is to provide a creation story for the

lochs of *Loch nAinid*, *Loch nIairnn* and *Loch nÚair*. The fact that two of these lochs, *Loch nAinid* and *Loch nÚair*, have already had creation stories presented earlier in the text, seems to be immaterial to this imperative.

Within the Meic Míled invasions, the various Mag Íth sites at first appear to have attracted a slightly more detailed level of coverage. However, upon closer examination we see that they simply involve a repeated naming by initial landing, the sole exception being the anecdote about the plot to kill Íth (Macalister 1995: 19). This exception can be explained as involving the first member of an invasion to die. Additionally, extra weight would seem to have attached to a person who has died in a location, whether they are the first or not.

As indicated above, amongst those which are introduced seven sites before the division of Ireland have short naming sequences: *Inber Scéne*, named after the deaths and grave sites of Scéne wife of Amairgen and Airennán mac Mílid; *Glenn Fáise* and *Fert Fáise* (also known as *Fert Scota*) were named for the death of Fás, wife of Uige (or Scota wife of Érimóin); *Loch Lughdech*, named for Lugaid mac Ítha; *Inber Féile* for Fial wife of Lugaid (*Loch Lughdech* and *Inber Féile* were named in a single story); and *Sliab Mis*, which has a very slight naming story. Of the rest of the place-names discussed within this section none has an aetiology of any real substance.

Conclusions:

This concludes the place name section. As we have seen, the places are usually created or named by the leaders of the invasion - the ruling family or their servants. The creation and subsequent naming of certain sites after leader's servants could be meant to show the possibility of upward movement in the hierarchy of social class, or it could merely be meant as a demonstration of the generosity of a ruler. Where we find existing names being replaced, the

renaming could be considered as a statement of legitimation, whereby a site is as it were taken over by the new invaders from their predecessors. We shall return to a more general consideration of the processes involved when we have taken stock of the parallel phenomena to be seen in the Navajo culture.

There is evidence within the modern sites of Kells and Armagh to demonstrate that important Christian sites were named or re-founded by either post Meic Míled or Christian era kings. At the sites of Tara and Navan we again see post Meic Míled kings laying claim to the sites of importance to pre-Christian Ireland. With Tara, which has been named and renamed by various invasions, it could be concluded that this was an attempt to Christianize a site of importance within the society and distance it from its pagan lore. This is reinforced when we acknowledge the presence of a Christian church on the hill of Tara today. If sons of Míl were named after locations or vice versa we have no conclusive evidence.

When analyzing the place name lore in the context of elaborate tales versus short segments, we find that the elaborate place name stories occur within the earlier invasion with locations that are populated sites, and sites that are renamed in subsequent invasions. In both lore types, except for *Ard Macha*, the subsequent place name tale is also elaborate. When discussing the sites of *The Sickness of Tuirell Bicroo*, we see the elaborate place name lore for the three lochs within the Túatha Dé Danann invasion sequence. Of these three lochs, two of them had been previously created. In this case the elaboration could have been a method of "trumping" the previous lore. Or it could simply have been a dindshenchas that was copied in an appropriate place in the MSS so it was not lost.

When we start to examine the Meic Míled place name lore we see that most of the sites are grave sites and the elaborate tales lie within accounts of

people's deaths. It could be here that a certain type of earthwork is being identified by our compilers, or perhaps the stories are of important people within the invasion. The latter of the two is seen in the deaths of Lugaid, Scota, Scéne wife of Amairgen and Airennán mac Mílid. Now we will move on to Behavioural Patterns within LGÉ.

Maps

The following are maps, by invasion, indicating the modern locations of the sites that are identifiable to a precise degree within LGÉ. They are identified first by their name within the text, followed by their modern name. On the maps each site has been given a number corresponding to the number in the columns below. Please note the following maps are not to scale.

* indicates a site mentioned in a previous invasion sequence. Also denoted by colour difference within the invasion maps.

Cessair:

- | | |
|----------------|-----------------------|
| 1) Tuadh Inmir | Estuary of River Bann |
| 2) Slíab Betha | Slive Beagh |

Partholón:

- | | |
|------------------|------------------------------|
| 1) Mag Fea | Slievenaman in Co. Tipperary |
| 2) Mag nAife | in Co. Offaly |
| 3) Loch Cúan | Strangford Loch |
| 4) Loch Rudraige | Dundrum Bay |
| 5) Loch Dechet | Loch Gara |
| 6) Loch Mesc | Loch Mask |
| 7) Loch Con | Loch Conn |
| 8) Mag Tuired | near Sligo |
| 9) Slíab Slanga | Slieve Donard in Mourne Mts. |

Nemed:

- | | |
|---------------------|-----------------------|
| 1) Ailen Arda Nemid | Cove Island |
| 2) Loch Muinremair | Loch Ramor |
| 3) Mag Cera | surrounding Castlebar |

- | | |
|--------------------|--------------------|
| 4) Mag Seired | surrounding Kells |
| 5) Mag Macha | near Armagh |
| 6) Ard Macha | Armagh |
| 7) Ráith Cimbáth | on Island of Magee |
| 8) Loch nAnnind | Loch Ennell |
| 9) Loch nDairbrech | Loch Derryvaragh |

Fomoraige:

- | | |
|------------------|---|
| 1) Torinis Cétni | Tory Island |
| 2) Mag Cétni | Mag Slecht (between Rivers Erne and Drowes) |

Fir Bolg:

- | | |
|------------------|--------------|
| 1) Dún Áengusa | Dún Áengusa |
| 2) Carn Conaill | Ballyconnell |
| 3) Mag nAsail | Rathconrath |
| 4) Loch nÚair | Loch Owel |
| 5) Modlinn | Clew Bay |
| 6) Rind na mBera | Kinvarra |
| 7) Loch Cuthra | Loch Cuthra |

Túatha Dé Danann:

- | | |
|-------------------|----------------|
| 1) Loch nAnind | Loch Ennell* |
| 2) Loch nIairnn | Loch Iron |
| 3) Loch nÚáir | Loch Owel* |
| 4) Taitiu | Tara |
| 5) Forud Tailten | Tara Hill |
| 6) Mag Fea | Slievenaman* |
| 7) Dá Chích Anann | Paps Mountains |
| 8) Mag Cétni | Mag Slecht* |

Meic Míled:

- | | |
|---------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1) Loch Febail | Loch Foyle |
| 2) Luimnech | first estuary of the Shannon* |
| 3) Inber Scéne | Shannon Estuary* |
| 4) Inber Colptha | Boyne Estuary |
| 5) Temair | Tara Hill* |
| 6) Druim Cain | Tara Breg* |
| 7) Ros Náir | Slieve Bloom |
| 8) Sliab Bladma | Slieve Bloom |
| 9) Inber Féile | River Bann |
| 10) Sliáb Mis | Slieve Mish Mountains |
| 11) Loch Gréine | Loch Graney |
| 12) Loch Riach | Lochrea |
| 13) Loch Dá Cáech | Waterford Harbour |
| 14) Loch Laigh | Belfast Loch |
| 15) teora Socc | River Suck (and tributaries) |
| 16) Ethne | River Inny |
| 17) Ráith Bethach | Rathveagh |
| 18) Ráith Anninn | Rathdown |
| 19) Tochu Inber Mór | Giants Causeway |
| 20) Dún Étair | Howth |

Pre-Christian Kings:

- | | |
|-------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1) Ráith Cimbaith | Navan Ring |
| 2) Suir | Siur R., Co. Mayo |
| 3) Féle Ercre | River Feale, Co. Kerry |
| 4) Caland | tributary of Blackwater River |
| 5) Torann | tributary of Blackwater River |
| 6) Fubna | tributary of Blackwater River |
| 7) Áenach Macha | near Armagh* |

- | | |
|------------------------|---|
| 8) Loch Cé | Loch Key in Co. Roscommon |
| 9) Loch Melge | Loch Melvin |
| 10) Loch Érne | Loch Erne |
| 11) Dún Cúili Sibrilli | Kells |
| 12) Úr nOlloman | 'Scholars' Rampart in Temair' (on Tara Hill)* |
| 13) Ráith Chuingeda | Island Magee* |

Christian Kings:

- | | |
|--------------|---------|
| 1) Ard Macha | Armagh* |
|--------------|---------|

Cessair



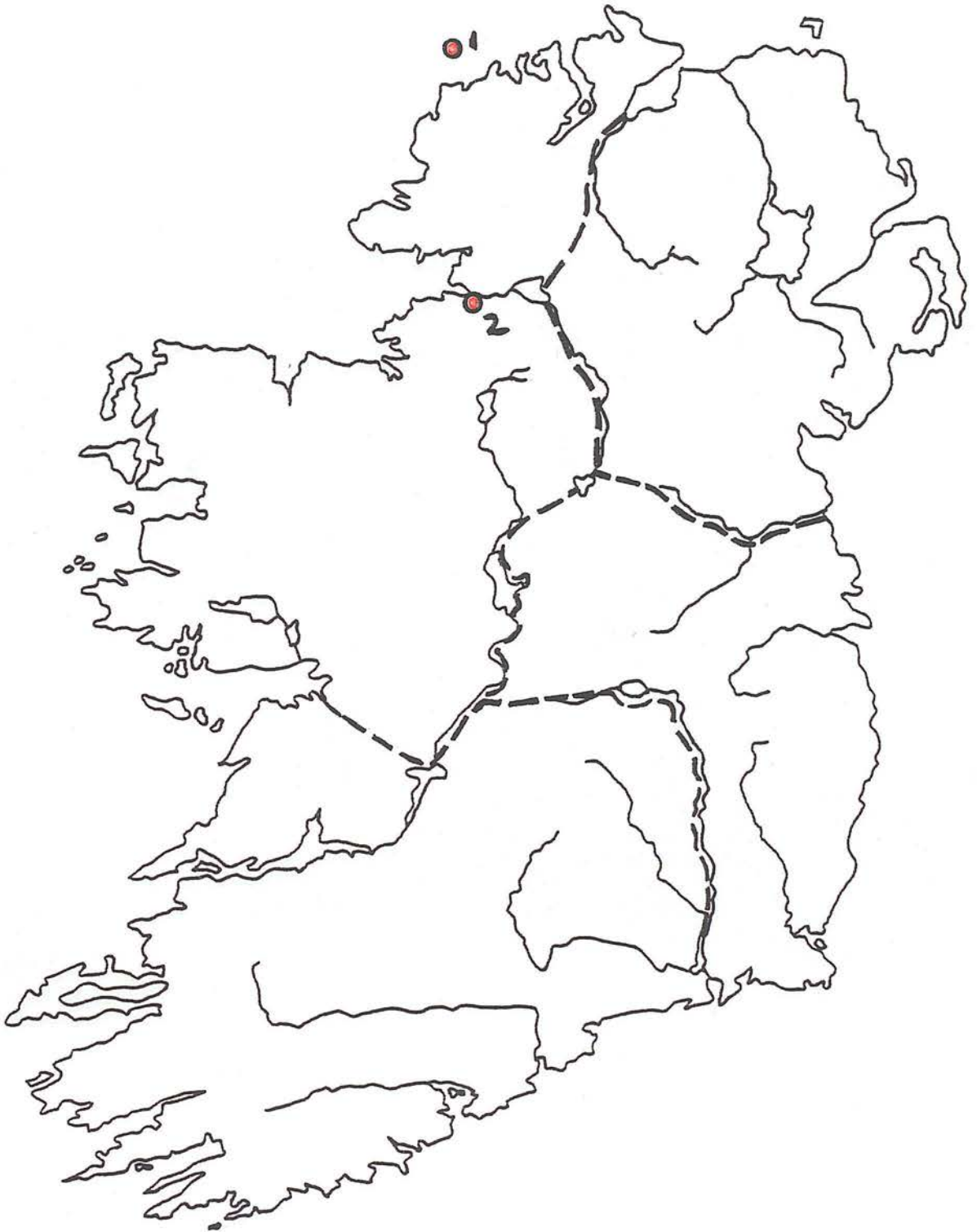
Partholón



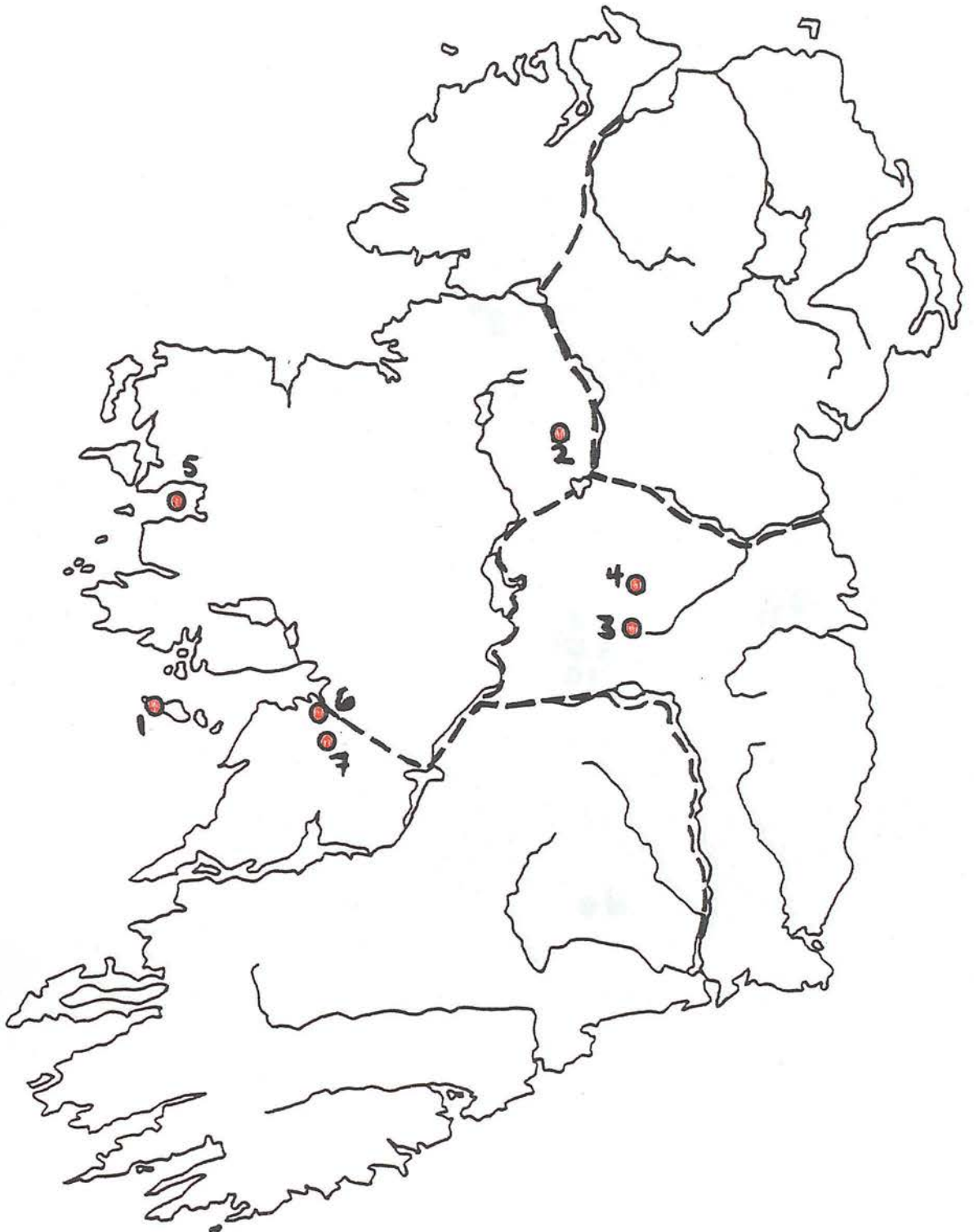
Nemed



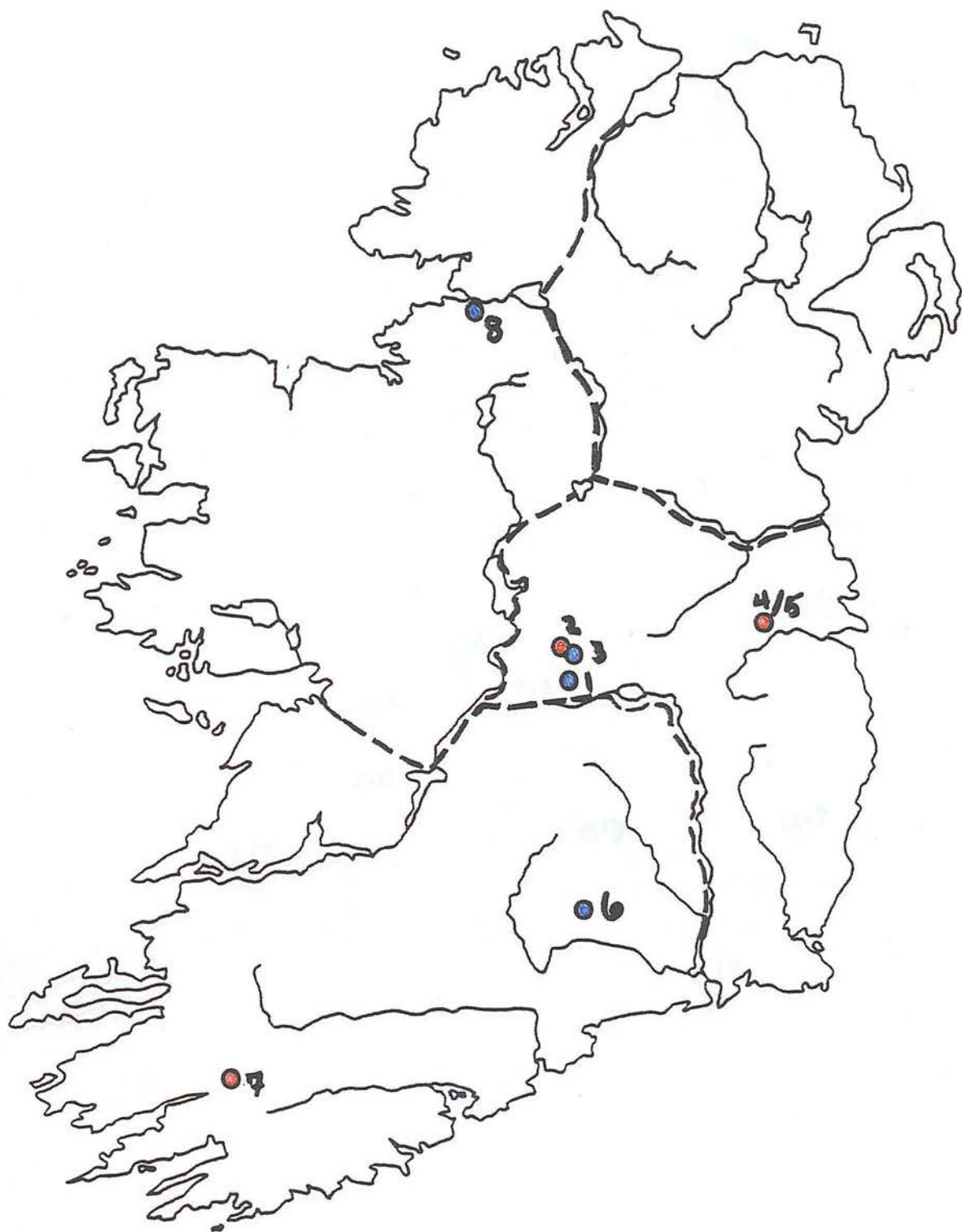
Fomoraige



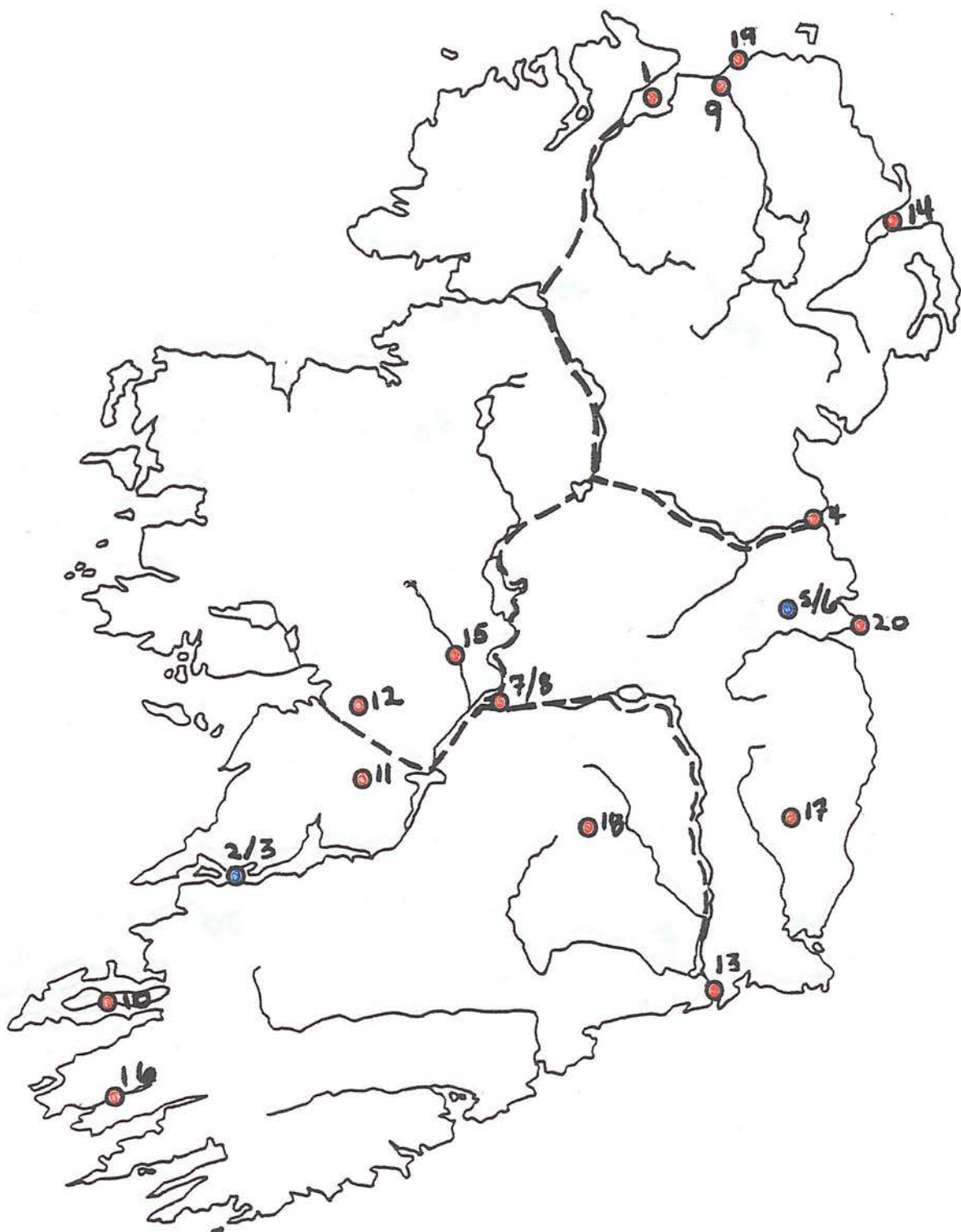
Fir Bolg



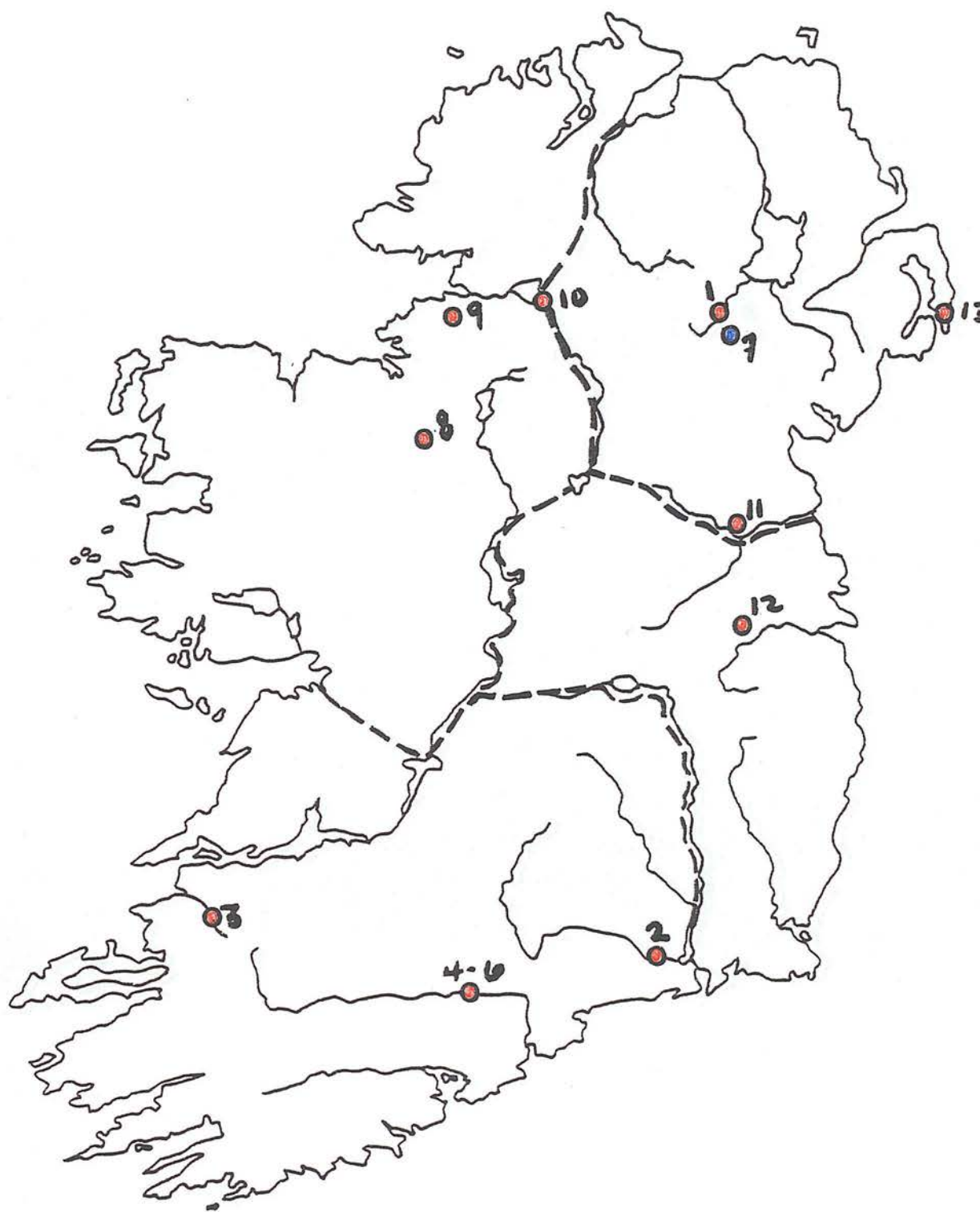
Túatha Dé Danann



Meic Míled



Pre-Christian Kings



Christian Kings



Section 3: An Examination of Behavioural Patterns

Within this section several types of behaviours have been selected for discussion, which I have called Indicators. These Indicators should demonstrate some of the behavioural patterns that were acceptable, unacceptable or of importance within LGÉ culture. My construction of this section is based on the layout of Macalister's version of the text. First, I will discuss the material within Macalister's Volume 1, followed by the invasion of Cessair; then, I will proceed with the rest of the text, discussing each of the Indicators and possible reasons for their appearance with the text. Some of the Indicators have been further divided into categories. Occasionally I have discussed episodes in full and all the Indicators that appear within them (eg. *The Seduction of Topa and Jealousy of Partholón*).

The reason I am looking at Macalister's Volume 1 as a whole is that it contains the Biblical Creation account either as a summary or in its entirety. Recensions 1 and 2 provide summaries of Genesis, and Recension 3 provides an inclusion of a Genesis (although in a disrupted order) up to Chapter Eleven. Because many of these episodes are contingent on the surrounding Christian text it is more logical to progress through them in order, rather than separating them into their Indicator categories. This is also the reason that I will address the invasion of Cessair in its entirety. I have also done this with two of the more elaborate cause and effect episodes within the text, *The Contention for Scythia* and *The Seduction of Topa and Jealousy of Partholón*.

A reminder of the Indicators I am looking at: episodes of Initial Behaviours, which I have defined as the first time an activity is stated to have occurred within the text; Social Deviance, episodes of Adultery (a married individual having sexual relations with someone other than his or her spouse), Jealousy (an act that within the text is stated to have been a form of jealous reaction), Incest (sexual relations between children and their parent, or relations between

siblings); Violent Deaths, including Kin-slayings (the killing of a close relative), Vengeance Slayings, and other forms of murder; Wife Trading; and Disasters (natural and supernatural), specifically, population tragedies (Floods, Plagues, Diseases, Oppressions, and Shipwrecks). Occurrences of the Supernatural, Miraculous, or Otherworldly will follow within the next section of this Chapter.

Biblical Events:

Volume 1 of Macalister's LGÉ, as seen in the divisions from *Chapter One, Section 2*, is a retelling of the Biblical events from Creation until what Macalister calls the *Dispersal of the Nations*. The first point that concerns the subject of this thesis is the Biblical material that is brought into LGÉ.

Recensions 1 and 2 summarize Genesis, specifically the creation of the world including the days of the creation acts. Recension 2 contains a gloss that explains the differences between the angels, man and the animals, as well as the creation of Adam and Eve. Both recensions then continue to the fall of Lucifer and his subsequent temptation of Eve. This is followed by the Cain and Abel episode, which Recension 2 and MS F of Recension 1 claim is punished by the Flood (Macalister 1993: 19, 31). Recension 1 then continues with the division of the Earth between the sons of Noah. Recension 2 contains a fuller account of Noah, more in keeping with the Biblical version. It then elaborates on the division of the world between the sons of Noah (Macalister 1993: 33-35). Recension 2 also gives a version of the tower of Nemrod (Babel) (Macalister 1993: 37).

It is possible from the above paragraph to perhaps ascertain what LGÉ compilers thought were the critical events of the Christian Genesis. The act of Creation appears self-explanatory. But the three other events (four if the Noah material from Recension 2 is included) could be briefly elaborated upon. The Fall of Lucifer and the Fall of Man are both punishment stories. They contain

the explicit message that if something is done against God's command the wrong-doer will be punished.

The tale of Cain and Abel can also be seen in this light. However there is another aspect to be considered: Cain's actions constitute a Kin-slaying. This is one of the most abhorred actions within Celtic society and, by extension, LGÉ culture. The compilers would have picked this episode within the Bible as a point of continuity between the incoming Christian religion and the existing conditions within Irish society. In doing so, LGÉ compilers may have been attempting to demonstrate that the Christian religion was not as alien to the Irish as it may have initially appeared.

Within Recension 2 the Flood story is elaborated upon to include why Noah and his kin were chosen by God to be saved. This could illustrate the opposite of the three episodes above. To elaborate, the three examples above demonstrate that wrong-doing will be punished, whereas Noah and his family are rewarded for their virtue. As for the addition of the Tower of Nemrod, it appears here to give legitimacy and explanation to the Goidelic tongue as well as the skills of Néil (Macalister 1993: 39).

Now we shall move on to a recensional division of the text for ease of discussion. In Recension 1 the Biblical material is a very brief account indeed. As mentioned above, it jumps from the kin-murder of Cain and Abel to the progeny of Seth having included Noah. Then it continues with a statement about the Flood and post-Flood settlement of Noah's sons. Recension 1 concludes by demonstrating that the descendants of Magog included Paratholón and Nemed, i.e. while Nemed's descendants are shown to be the Fir Bolg, Fir Domnan, Gaileóin and the Túatha Dé Danann. Thereby,

with a cunning stroke of the quill, all inhabitants of Ireland (except Cessair),¹⁵⁷ including the pagan deities, were made descendants of Noah.

There are only three Indicators contained within Recension 1. The first is that the Biblical Flood is, according to a gloss in MS F, the punishment for Cain's kin-slaying (Macalister 1993: 19). In MS LL it is stated in the text that Cain's action 'began the kin-murders of the world.' (Macalister 1993: 19), thus qualifying it as an Initial Event. The third is another initial episode, a gloss that Albanus is the first to take Albania (Macalister 1993: 23). The other behaviour patterns are directly from the Bible and are therefore of little interest to us in themselves. It is probable that they are present in order to reinforce what is considered proper behaviour as proclaimed by the Bible of Christianity.

What we see from these Indicators is fairly self-evident: the Initial Behaviours show the need to set a precedence for behaviours that occur within the society. This establishment of paradigms is not the sole property of the Celts. As mentioned above, it is one of the functions of origin mythology. This particular behaviour was Kin-slaying which we know was one of the worst crimes within Irish society. (Kelly 1991: 127). As we have seen (although this is not Biblically accurate), it was punished in one MS (above) and in Recension 2 (below) by the Flood. More will be mentioned about inaccuracies of Biblical stories as found in LGÉ later in this section. The other Initial Behaviour that can be seen as setting a precedence within the text is person-place-names association which occurs within Recension 1. For more on this please see *Chapter Two, Section 2* of this thesis.

¹⁵⁷Cessair's descent from Noah is depicted later in Recension 1. (Macalister 1996: 181, 185, 199)

Recension 2 is an expansion of the material within Recension 1. The Biblical material contains a more detailed account of the Flood story. As opposed to a gloss of the Flood as punishment for Cain and Abel, there appears to have been a loss of several pages, then incompletely replaced to have the actual text read that the Flood is the punishment for Abel's murder (Macalister 1993: 31)¹⁵⁸ After the Flood, Noah builds his altar as in the Bible, but we have an additional gloss to note that it was '[, the first altar that was made after the Flood]'. (Macalister 1993: 35). This once again shows the importance of precedence to the mentality of LGÉ culture, on this occasion the behaviour is of an acceptable nature. Then we have the introduction of Gáidel Glas, the ancestor of the Meic Míled, and a small gloss disputing the existence of Féníus Farsaid at the Tower of Nemrod. This gloss is followed by the tale of a single son of Féníus Farsaid, Nél, who went to Pharaoh Cincris as a scholar and married Scota, the daughter of the Pharaoh.

There are four more glosses within Recension 2 that contain Indicators. Three of these are Initial Episodes, and the fourth is an interjection concerning the method Cain used to kill Abel. I will begin with the Initial Episodes. The first gloss contains a statement about the first judgment ever made. It was proclaimed by God upon Lucifer when he was cast out of Heaven. 'Come and let us see and put to shame the counsel of this Lucifer. That is the first judgement which was ever pronounced.' (Macalister 1993: 27). The second gloss is from the Creation story within the text and reads: 'That is the first laugh which was ever uttered, and the first welcome.' (Macalister 1993: 29). This gloss follows Eve's creation. The third gloss is the statement that Cain killing Abel is '...the first kin-murder in the world.' (Macalister 1993: 29).

The final gloss is about the method that Cain used to kill Abel. All three

¹⁵⁸This loss is more elaborated upon in Macalister's introduction (Macalister 1993: 2).

recensions wrongly agree that it is with the cheek bone of a camel that Cain slew Abel. However, in Recension 2 we also see a gloss stating: '[Or, as others say, after the likeness of the slaying of the sacrifices, it was his grasp which he closed around his neck]...' (Macalister 1993: 31).

The first two statements of precedence demonstrate two aspects of the societal norms. The first; the importance of justice and judgments, is made all the more significant as it came from God, Himself. The other shows laughter and welcoming, another aspect of Celtic culture, that of the importance placed upon a host in terms of his generosity. This can be equated to Adam, having been created first, being the host of Paradise and welcoming Eve unto himself and it.

The final gloss in Recension 2, the method of Abel's death, is quite a curious statement. We have evidence from the 'bog people' that strangulation was part of a ritual method of sacrifice (Ross 1986: 74; Green 1995: 450). It could have been that the compilers of LGÉ knew that ritual sacrifice still occurred by strangulation. Therefore this gloss could imply two different manners of scholarly logic: the first is that the scribe who initially penned the gloss thought that Cain sacrificed Abel to gain approval from God. However, kin-slaying is contrary to the nature of LGÉ culture. The second (and more likely) reason is to demonstrate the opposition between the "civilized" brother, Abel, and the "barbaric" brother Cain. The gloss could be, in effect, illustrating the savage and uncultured nature of human sacrifice.

Within Recension 3, Macalister concludes that some of the initial pages were lost. Erring on the side of caution, our archaic editors inserted the first eleven chapters of an Irish translation of the Book of Genesis that was subsequently

glossed numerous times.¹⁵⁹ Therefore, I will only comment on the glosses that pertain to this section of the thesis under the divisions listed above.

Additionally, I will note that in Volume 2 of Macalister's text there is a gloss in MS BB which tells the reader that the Flood was 'by reason of the great kin-murder which Cain s. Adam wrought upon his younger brother:' (Macalister 1996: 199). This gloss brings Recension 3 into line with Recensions 1 and 2.

To proceed, there are eight episodes of Initial Behaviours in Volume 1, Recension 3 that are pertinent to this thesis. I will discuss each in the order it appears within the text. This Indicator was chosen because noted firsts should represent a precedence for a behaviour, either accepted or unaccepted, within the society concerned. Where there is evidence to support this behaviour from a source outside LGÉ, it will be provided.

1) The first gloss that pertains to Initial Behaviours deals with the ...'first bride-gift and the first prophecy made by Adam.' (Macalister 1993: 61). Here we see precedence-setting for the cultural behaviour, namely that of bride-price (Kelly 1991: 71-72) and approval for a pre-Christian behaviour of prophecy (I say approval because we know of its pre-Christian existence from Classical writers (Green 1995: 29)). Prophecy is actually seen throughout the Bible, although the incident of Adam giving a prophecy could not only be additional verification for the use of prophets and prophecy, but also establishing a precedence for the behaviour.

2) The next gloss is relevant to the temptation of Eve, upon the occasion that she eats from the Tree of Paradise. This is '... the first question and first enquiry which a devil made in the world.' (Macalister 1993: 67). This establishes the post-Christian precedence for the works of Satan in the world.

¹⁵⁹For more on this Biblical insert see Macalister 1993: 5-13.

3) Continuing with the story, we come to the kin-slaying of Abel. This recension differs from the other two in that it does not label the kin-slaying as a first but concentrates on Abel as the first dead: 'Now Abel was the first dead man of the world, and he was the first martyr that ever was;...'

(Macalister 1993: 83). We have seen in the previous section, discussions of first deaths within the invasions. These, typically, involve place lore.

However, this is obviously not the case in this instance. Little else can be said about this part of the quotation. The second half of the quotation appears to be a solely Christian behaviour, as the importance of saint's martyrdoms is well known.

4) 'This is one of the first two lies-the devil first and Cain afterwards'

(Macalister 1993: 85). Both pre and post Christian Irish society had a dislike of falsehoods. No further information can be gained from this quotation.

5) After the Biblical listings of first occupations there is a gloss that lists additional first occupations. 'She [Noemma] was the first weaver, and the first who fashioned raiment for everyone in the beginning.' (Macalister 1993: 91).

As weaving is not one of the skills that confer a special status to the practitioner according to the Irish Law Tracts, this episode raises a question as to its inclusion. Could it be that as seen previously within the *Section 2* of this Chapter, that firsts could also serve the purpose of adding believability to LGÉ? As seen with the place names, some were added to assist in drawing the audience into the tale. Likewise, some Initial Episode could have the same function.

6) Once again we have a statement about the altar built by Noah. 'That was the first altar that was built in the world.' (Macalister 1993: 131). Beyond it not having the qualification of being the first after the Flood this statement was already discussed in Recension 2 above.

7) This gloss follows the episode where the sons of Noah find him drunk and naked in his tent. Ham, who had mocked Noah's nakedness, is punished by being cursed. The glosses that follow are:

Conad hé Cam cet duine ra mallaighedh iar ndilinn,
conad iarsin ra geinidar lupracanaig [agus] fomoraig [agus]
gaburchind [agus] cach egasg do-delba archena fil for
dainib-

So that this Ham is the first man who was cursed after the Flood:

and thereafter there were born dwarfs and giants and horse-
heads and every unshapely form in general that there is
among men- (Macalister 1993: 137)

This gloss demonstrates a rather straightforward sin and punishment episode. As it stands, after the mocking of Noah, Ham's curse was to have his descendants be the abnormalities of humanity. If this is true then it appears that magic, within a spell casting sense, was obliquely being allowed within the Biblical portion of the text, provided it was in a just cause. Granted, this curse appears to be a high penalty for Ham's crime, but then again, within the Bible itself, his descendants become slaves to his brothers. Both of these are harsh punishments.

8) Here we have a list of first occupations. I will refer the reader to the page for a full description and only summarize here:

Coba, wife of Noah, wove raiment for everyone after the Flood
Eve wove an apron first
Olivanna, wife of Japheth, first fashioned raiment after the Flood
Catafolá, daughter of Adam and Eve, was first who wove raiment
Japheth first sounded the harp and organ after the Flood
Shem was the first smith, first wright and first carpenter after the Flood
Noah worked at husbandry the first year after the Flood
Ham was first to attain swimming, poetry and bardism
(Macalister 1993: 159-61)

There are obvious contradictions in the above information. Macalister explains the reasons for some of this in his notes (Macalister 1993: 254). Our interest is, again, that there are statements about the first weaving. This lends the implication that it was an important task and evidences that it was a woman's task. Japheth was the first to sound the harp and organ. We learn from the Law Tracts that the harpist is the only entertainer to have an independent legal status (Kelly 1991: 64). Additionally, the abilities claimed by Shem are also held in high esteem within the Law Tracts (Kelly 1991: 61-63). Noah's claim of husbandry does not confer a special status unless the scribes were trying to link Noah to a 'hospitaller' (Kelly:1991: 36-38). However, the associations here are tenuous at best. Poetry and bardism are obviously respected trades, (interestingly enough attributed to Ham) who, as we saw above, was also cursed. Bards and poets had one of the highest honour-prices outside the king and clergy (Kelly 1991: 43-48).

As mentioned above, there are errors within the summary of the Biblical events. These are not to be expected as there is the general assumption that the compilers and scribes are clergymen. The most notable errors are: that Cain killed Abel with the jawbone of a camel, not an ass; the Flood being Cain's punishment for the kin-slaying of Abel; and Ham's curse after seeing Noah naked. Could it be that not all of our scribes and compilers were as well versed in Biblical lore as originally assumed by modern scholars? Another possible explanation is that the compilers had learned the information incorrectly in the first place. A third reason for the errors is that there could have been mistakes in one version that were never corrected in later versions.

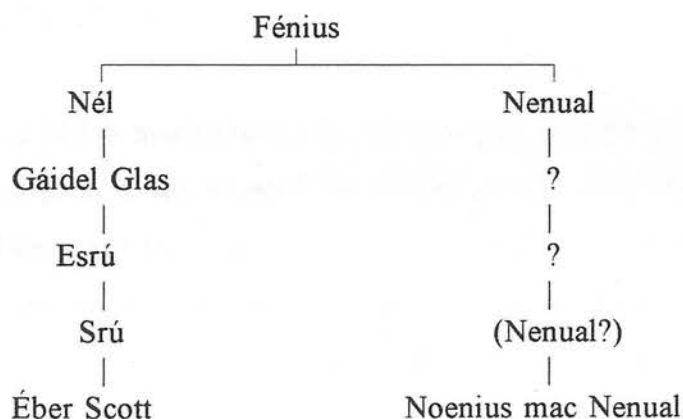
The final explanation is that the compilers knew about these errors and included them on purpose. This could be because they also knew of their inclusion of pagan material and did not wish to "contaminate" the Biblical story in any way. Another reason for the inclusion of errors related to LGÉ is

to give a blatant sign to the peers of the compilers, and a more subtle sign to the unlearned, that the tales within LGÉ were not factual. Through the passage of time these "signs" may have been misread as merely errors as LGÉ was treated as historical.

This concludes the study of the Biblical section of LGÉ for the time being. The glosses above are not the only glosses in this volume. There are quite a few others that contain interesting elements. These fall outside the limits of this thesis, however¹⁶⁰.

The Contention for Scythia:

All three recensions agree that Nenual's descendants were the rulers of Scythia and that Néil's descendants attacked Scythia. This could constitute Kin-slaying. In Recension 1 Éber Scott '...took the kingship of Scythia [by force] from the progeny of Nenual,...' (Macalister 1996: 17). Éber Scott and, presumably, those he attacks are the fifth generation from the two sons of Fénius Farsaid.



¹⁶⁰The most notable of these is the Inversion episodes. These are the raven and dove switching colours at the end of the Flood, and Cain having raised welts on his face hands and feet, an almost exact inversion of the wounds of Christ.

The above diagram shows the lineage of Éber Scott more than that of Noenius, of whom we are only told that he is the son of Nenual. This statement has three possible explanations. The first is that Noenius is the son of Nenual mac Fénius Farsaid. In which case he would be quite elderly as we see from above. This is unlikely but not entirely impossible. Another is that Nenual has been taken as the tribal name in an act of ancestor worship. This would make all the members of this tribe sons or daughters of Nenual.

The other explanation, which seems the most reasonable of the three, is that there was another Nenual within the lineage. The point upon which to focus within all three recensions of this section is that the descendants of Néil, at this stage, do not have a right to the kingship of Scythia. They are outside the kin-group that is recognized for kingship. The proper kin-group only extends to the male descendants who share the same great-grandfather (Kelly 1991: 12). This creates an appearance of cause and effect. Because the descendants of Néil (who are the Gáedel) cannot contend legally for the kingship, they are exiled when the descendants of Nenual are strong enough to rebuff them. In Recension 1 the Gáedel are under the leadership of Agnon mac Tait (Macalister 1996: 27-29).

In Recension 2 Míl is mentioned as the outcast leader of the Gáedel for the first time. But prior to the exile of the Gáedel, we are told 'Many battles and conflicts and wars and kin-murders did they wage between them during that time, till Míl son of Bile inflicted a mortal wound upon Refloir son of Noenius.' (Macalister 1996: 39). This implies that there was justification for the Gáedel to contend for the kingship. The arresting point within this passage is that Míl appears to be fleeing after killing his adversary rather than taking over the kingship of Scythia. Why? Could it have been because the killing of Refloir was in some way unjust? Even though it is classified as a kin-murder '...a king who has been guilty of *fíngal* [kin-slaying] loses his honour price.

But in practice, some kings who acquire their kingship through *finjal* are known to have reigned successfully for many years.' (Kelly 1991: 127-28).

Here, perhaps, we are seeing a conflict between the ideal way of life and the reality of it. The ideal is that Míl should have lost his honour-price and, therefore, been exiled from Scythia. The reality is that the overtaking king would have had enough support to "overlook" his kinslaying, or may have had open support to have committed it in the beginning. Another manner in which we may view this, is that Míl defeated Refloir and should become king, instead he is exiled. As a result of the exile, though, Míl or his descendants eventually gain Ireland. Another possibility is that the Gáedel were not strong enough to secure the kingship, even with the defeat of the leader of their opposition, and were forced to flee. Macalister offers that the exile of Míl is a parallel of Nél's voyage, but gives no explanation as to why he would have been exiled initially.

Recension 3 follows the same vein as the previous two: in a glossed summary of the events of the Gáedel it states '...and their conflicts, in Scythia, and the kin-murder of the progeny of Nenuál and of Nél: how these broke out in the matter of the principedom of Scythia,...' (Macalister 1996: 45). The section of the text that gives *The Contention for Scythia* in full, is the same as that told in Recension 2 above. However, we find a gloss showing that Refloir and Míl regarded themselves as kinsmen. It also gives a bit more background on why Míl was expelled from Scythia after wounding Refloir, despite the addition of Refloir's own treachery against Míl (Macalister 1996: 67). In this light another possible reason for Míl's exile comes to mind. Could it have represented (or even been seen as a parable) illustrating the necessity of accepting one's fate no matter if it is just or unjust, or alternatively that even when an unjust event has occurred a reward will be in the offering? The obvious overtones of this sort of parable, if true, leave little doubt as to its

Christian origin.

The gloss itself reads almost as if it were one of the episodes that the compilers were striving to preserve in order to gain insight into God's plan, as it was thought that pre-Christian lore was an imperfect precursor to the Divine Plan. Alternatively, it could be an attempt by the compilers to have LGÉ mimic traits of the material that is within the lives of the different Saints. To elaborate, the more holy a saint was perceived to be, the more miracles he or she performed, and the closer to Christ's own miracles these were.¹⁶¹ Could it be that this is an attempt to show that the Gáedel's trials were much like the Israelite's trials during their wanderings, thus demonstrating that the Gáedel were following an imperfect version of the Divine Plan? Their version would have been imperfect because their actions took place before Christianity and, therefore, before Christ's revelation of God's wishes. If this is the case, there is no doubt that it was contrived by the compilers for an intended purpose.

Cessair:

Within Recensions 2 and 3 a gloss states that Cessair, Fintán, Bith, and Ladru were not allowed on Noah's Ark because of their great sinfulness (Macalister 1996: 189, 201). I would assume, instead of any particular sin of their own, that this is merely the same sin as the rest of mankind. If it were otherwise, I would have thought that the compilers would have elaborated more on the subject. What interests us more is the result of their exclusion from the Ark. In Recension 1 Cessair is Noah's daughter. He instructs her: 'Rise, said he, [and go] to the western edge of the world: perchance the Flood may not reach it.' (Macalister 1996: 181) This is what Cessair and her chosen companions do. Afterwards, we learn that her invasion force suffered a shipwreck and only one ship landed safely. Then we are told that the even these survivors

¹⁶¹ I owe my thanks to Professor Gillies for bringing this hypothesis to my attention.

die. Presumably this was when the Flood came, but we are not told this explicitly (Macalister 1996: 181-183).

However, in Recension 2, Cessair and her company are already fleeing the Flood. She consulted her druids who instructed her to go to Ireland.

Doluid Cessair íarom a Hindsí Meroén ar teched na dílend, ar ba dóiglese dú na ráncatar dóini riam cossin, [agus] nach dérnad olc na himurbus, [agus] ro sáerad ar bíastaib [agus] míchiurthib in domuin, combad sáer in dú sin ar dílind. Ocus ro indiseatar dana a druidhi di Hériu fon innas sain, [agus] ara tíset co Héirinn. Conid aire sin do riacht Cessair for iarair Hérenn.

Cessair came thereafter from the Island of Meroe, fleeing from the Flood: for she thought it probable that a place where men had never come till then, where no evil nor sin had been committed, and which was free from the reptiles and monsters of the world, that such a place should be exempt from a Flood. And her wizards, indeed, told her that Ireland was in that case, and that on that account she should come to Ireland. Wherefore Cessair arrived, in search of Ireland. (Macalister 1996: 184-87)

Within Recension 3 we see that Cessair was the undisputed leader of the Invasion as she had ordered the men to give submission to her (Macalister 1996: 201). They then sunder themselves from God and worship an idol. This Idol tells them to 'Make a voyage, and embark upon the sea.' (Macalister 1996: 203). The drawback was that the Idol did not know when the Flood would commence and, therefore, the invasion of Cessair landed in Ireland too early (Macalister 1996: 203-05).

The final episode of Cessair is Ladru's death. Within Recension 2 it is a part of the main text and in Recension 3 it is a gloss. Yet, both add that Ladru's death could have occurred by two different methods: 'he died of excess of women, or it's the shaft of an oar that penetrated his buttock.' (Macalister 1996: 189, 205). There are several points of notice: this death tale

corresponds to the recensions where Noah refused the party a place on his Ark because of their sinful nature; Ladru received the smallest division of women and yet died of 'female excess'; also, the phallic nature of an oar penetrating the buttock cannot be overlooked. Both of these images indicate a greed or gluttony for sexual gratification.

The Seduction of Topa and Jealousy of Partholón:

This episode is only found in what Macalister calls the *Appendix* that is attached to Partholón's invasion and it is only found in MS L (Macalister 1987: 39-43). As we have seen, it is also a place name story. Macalister, within his notes to the text, suggests that the episode is some form of fertility ritual (Macalister 1987: 98-99). A summary of the story is that Partholón goes away on an extended hunting trip because there is no game nearby. He leaves his henchman and wife together on the island, *Inis Saimér*.

While Partholón is gone, his wife seduces his guard and they both partake of some form of drink from a vat that has '[suction]-tubes' attached to it. Partholón returns from hunting and discovers their deed. In his anger and jealousy he kills his wife's lap-dog (this episode is also the first jealousy in Ireland). Partholón, in a poetical lay, tells Elgnat what a disgrace her actions are. She responds to him by saying that it is the nature of the female of the species to be wanton. Again, Partholón calls shame upon her, equating her deeds to the sin of Eve.

The points of interest within this section are: the seduction by a woman thereby dishonoring the man; the Initial Episode, the first jealousy provoked by adultery on the behalf of a woman; that it contains two place name stories (those of *Dá Égond* and *Inis Saimér* which are discussed in *Chapter 2, Section 2* of this thesis); the inherent wantonness of females of all species; and the killing of the lap dog. The seduction is said to have occurred by Elgnat

calling Topa a coward, after which he consented to adultery with her. This demonstrates that honour and reputation were still held in high regard by LGÉ culture. This is further supported in Topa experiencing no consequences for his adulterous action, unless it demonstrates Topa's immunity in this compromising position. This could be either because he was seduced, or was possibly unwed versus Elgnat being married, or simply because he is male.

The Initial Episode can be explained as setting a precedence for a behaviour and a cause of that behaviour. It also reinforces the relatively new practice of monogamy brought by the Christian church to a society that previously had nine forms of marriage and polygyny (Kelly 1991: 70-71)¹⁶². In response to Partholón's outrage is Elgnat's rejoinder of female wantonness. This could be a reminder to the men within the society to take care of their women. If so, it is originating from an unexpected source indeed. Finally, the killing of the lap-dog is interesting because of its similarity to the killing of Medb's lap dog by Cú Chulainn (O'Rahilly 1976: 149). In both cases the killings of the lap-dogs results in the site taking on the name of the hound. This illustrates that native elements and themes used in entertainment did come into play while working on more "serious" texts

Social Deviance:

Now I will continue with the rest of the text, here I will discuss the behaviours under their headings and subheadings as appropriate. The episodes that fall under Social Deviance are further subdivided into: Greed, Incest, and Violent Death. The category of Violent Death can be further subdivided into:

¹⁶²I invite you to compare this practice with a similar practice by the Kpelle of Nigeria, where the man has as many wives as he can support with varying commitment to each depending on the level of their marriage. He also has the power to "loan out" one of his wives (usually not his first wife) to another man, if the second man cannot afford to wed his own wife.

Vengeance killings, Kin-slayings, and Other types of murder.

Greed:

The episode that falls under this subheading is the greed of Nemed. This occurs in the course of their voyage to Ireland:

Tarfás dóib tor óir forsin muir, [agus] lotar uile dia thogail;
[agus] ro báite uile acht Nemed-ochtar. in tan ba lán in muir
ticed tarsin tór sin [agus] in tan ba tráig nobid mór dé úassa. Ba
si méit na sainte rosgab imón ór cona hairigtis in muir ic luindi
impu,

There appeared to them a tower of gold on the sea, and they all went to capture it: and all were drowned except the Nemed-octad. When the sea was full it would come over that tower, and when it was at ebb much of it would be exposed. Such was the greed for the gold that took hold of them that they did not perceive the sea raging around them;' (Macalister 1987: 128-31)

This episode, like the sexual greed of Ladru, only appears in Recensions 2 and 3. The message is quite clear; greed, this time for worldly goods, results in death to the greedy. In this instance it results in the death of almost all Nemed's people.

Incest:

The idea of the purity and holiness of a king who (is or is not believed to be divine) being soiled by sexual behaviour with an individual outside his immediate family, is evidenced within many different mythologies as illustrated by the quotation below:

As the first people are children of the same creator, incest is necessarily an aspect of creation myths. In some cases,

however, such as the Egyptian and Incan creations, it seems to have a symbolic import, suggesting the strength of dynasties or of cultural origins..... In a few cases, such as in the Egyptian creation, the brother-sister incest motif was reinforced in actual social practice; Usually, though, the presence of the incest motif in creation myths does nothing to undermine the incest taboo in social practice. The motif is symbolic rather than representative. (Leeming 1994: 138-39)

Thus armed, we turn our attention to LGÉ where we see the gods of the Túatha Dé Danann being created by incest. (Note: This is the same Tuirell Biceo seen above as an agent of creation):

Sé meic Delbaeth meic Ogma meic Eldan meic Delbaeth meic Neit, Fiachra, Ollom, Innui, Biran, Iucharba, Iuchair; Donand ingen don Delbaeth chetna, .i. mathair in trír dédenaig, .i. Briain [agus] Iucharba [agus] Iuchair. Ba siat sin na trí Dee Dana, diatá Slíab na Trí nDee. Ocus is don Delbaeth sin ba hainm Tuirell Biceo.

The six sons of Delbaeth s. Ogma s. Elada s. Delbaeth s. Net, were Fiachra, Ollam, Indui, Brian, Iucharba, Iuchar. Donann the daughter of the same Delbaeth was the mother of the three last, Brian, Iucharba and Iuchar. These were the three gods of Danu, from whom is named the Mountain of the Three Gods. And that Delbaeth had the name Tuirell Biceo. (Macalister 1987²: 128-29)¹⁶³.

It is not only the deities that are created through incest. Fíacha Fer-Mara was the product of a liaison between his father, whilst he was drunk, and his sister. After his birth the infant Fíacha was clothed in the robes of a king and sent out upon the sea in a tale that bears a marked similarity to the tale of Moses. Fíacha is found by a group of people and later leads them in taking the

¹⁶³See also Macalister 1987²: 157, 193.

kingships of Ireland and Alba. Later these people are said to have taken their name from him (Macalister 1995: 285). This short tale may be an example of the sort generated by ancestor worship.

An outline of the above tale is; an individual, destined for greatness (who in this case is a product of an incestuous relationship) is abandoned but bearing the signs of his royal blood. Against the odds, he survives his abandonment at sea, he is found and adopted into a new society. This group then name him after his ordeal and, eventually, the name is associated with the new society including the now-leader's children. The excerpt itself is careful to say that '...his children go on to take...' not the theoretical ancestor (Macalister 1995: 285). Another possibility concerning this tale, bearing in mind its similarity to the Moses tale, is that a Christian compiler has either adjusted or created a suitable ancestor tale for a powerful dynasty.

Another story that follows the theme of incest though the act is not elaborated upon, is seen when we read: 'Howbeit, Odba d. [daughter of] Míl, mother of the three sons of Érimón,...' (Macalister 1995: 39). In this case it could be a suggestion of dynastic purity within the Meic Míled. Here Odba, the daughter of Míl, is the mother of the sons of Éremóin, who is one of the sons of Míl. It appears that our archaic editors missed this obvious reference to pre-Christian ancestor worship, as seen in sibling incest tales.

An incident that appears to have a less favourable outcome is the tale of Lugaid Riab nDerg. We are told that he is a product of incest '...the three sons of Eochu Feidlech begat upon their sister Clothrann; and further Lugaid himself begat a son upon his own mother, to wit, Crimthann, s. Lugaid king of Ireland.' The first we hear of Lugaid is that he commits suicide by throwing himself upon his sword. In Recension 3 this occurs while he is traveling to the Assembly of Tailtiu. During his reign several saints die and

Rome is burned (see below under "Violent Deaths, Other" for more). These negative associations lend one to conclude that this particular incidence of incest was not considered a favourable behaviour by LGÉ culture. However, it is indeterminable whether it was his own birth, the incest with his mother, or both that constituted the unfavoured action (Macalister 1995: 303).

This brings us to Lugaid's son, Crimthann Nia Náir. We are told that he '...went adventuring from Dún Crimthann along with Nár the Fairy Woman...' . He brought back many treasures from the fairy mound but died a fortnight and a month after coming out of the mound. This is the same length of time which he was inside the mound. There are several points within this passage that deserve our attention. A child of a double incest, his father was a product of incest and so was Crimthann, who is the son of a king, enters a fairy mound and brings back treasures from his quest. This starts off very much like the heroic biography of a king. A birth of distinction, a quest to the fairy mound and treasures gained therein. But then the tale appears to run amok. The candidate for kingship does not survive for more than two months outside the fairy mound (Macalister 1995: 303, 325).

What went wrong? There are several possible answers to this question. When looking at heroic births there is often, but not always, a form of a triple birth involved. In this segment there is evidence of a double incest, the element of three occurs in Lugaid's birth, not that of his son. Another possible answer for the shortness of Crimthann's life after his exit from the fairy mound could be a hidden element, namely that of "going astray". The act of going astray is an accidental or purposeful entry into the *síd* that, to the adventurer, only seems like a brief span of time. However, outside the mound a greater span of time has passed and upon leaving the *síd* the time lapsed immediately encroaches upon the adventurer and usually kills him.

A third possibility takes into account the potential of Christian dabbling. It could have been that the compilers recognized the motifs of a kinship tale, as we do, and deliberately re-wrote the tale to include a failed ending in order to show the dangers of consorting with the fairy folk. Or, quite possibly, the failed ending occurred even without this sort of intervention. A final possibility is that Crimthann's "adventuring with the fairies" is a euphemism for having been insane. After all, a live product of double incest may very well have been mad.

Violent Deaths:

This section will be further divided into Vengeance Slayings, Kin-slayings, and other various acts of murder. Some of these acts can be classified within more than one category. Therefore, I am placing them in what appears to be the more emphasized heading, but will discuss all aspects it may contain. I realize that these, like all other artificial headings, are created by scholars to divide the data into more manageable segments, and that they are to a greater or lesser extent, arbitrary.

Kin-slaying:

In Recensions 2 and 3 we find the reason behind Partholón coming to Ireland.

Mad áil [fh]is cid ara táinic Partholón assa thír, ninsa. Partholón ro marb a máthair [agus] a athair, ic iarraid ríge dia bráthair: co táinic co Hérind ar teched a [fh]inghaile. Conid íarom luid táimlehta fair ina fíngail. Nói míle fri háen sechtmain adbath do cinaidh a fíngaile.

Wouldst thou know wherefore Partholon came forth from his land, 'tis easy. Partholon slew his mother and father, seeking kingship for his brother: so he came to Ireland fleeing from his kin-murder. And so thereafter plaguing came upon him in his kin-murder. Nine thousand in one week died for the guilt of his [presumption and his R³] kin-murder. (Macalister 1987: 8- 9)

Unlike the previously discussed kin-slayings for kingship in Scythia, Partholón committed his kin-slaying on his brother's behalf. After his crime Partholón then fled his homeland, yet still suffers severe retribution, not only upon himself but on many of his followers as well. It would appear that this is a direct example of not only the Law Tracts, but of the 'kings truth'. The king has done a great wrong, and punishment is required. At this point within LGÉ Ireland is in a gradual evolution while waiting for her rightful owners, the Gáedel. Therefore Ireland is not really Paratholón's, so the land does not suffer for his behaviour. The people who call Partholón their leader are punished instead.

The next episode appears to be an unpunished kin-murder: this is the slaying of Balar by his grandson Lug during the second battle of *Maige Tuired*. (Macalister 1987²: 119, 151). The difference between this and the kin-slayings that will be seen below is that Lug was made king before his kin-slaying. Also, his act was one that within the tradition of *Caith Maige Tuired* freed the Túatha Dé Danann from the oppression of the Fomoraigne. However within Macalister's text, the account of this oppression is omitted. This discrepancy will be discussed further below. Lug's kin-slaying, as it is recounted here, could be seen as setting the precedence for unpunished kin-slayings by kings.

The first kin-slaying we hear in *The Roll of the Kings* is the tale of Fiacha Fínscothach who slew his father, Sétna, for the kingship of Ireland (Macalister 1995: 231). Fiachu Findoilches also killed his father, Géde Ollgothach. There does not appear to be an outcry against these kin-slayings. On the contrary, Fiachu Findoilches' reign is noted for white-headed cattle and white headed flowers. In addition, a fortress is built during his reign, and it does not appear to have been marred by any kind of disapproval, either from the populace or supernatural beings (Macalister 1995: 239).

The next kin-slaying is performed by Cobthach Cóel Breg, who kills his brother for the kingship of Ireland. He also slays his brother's son as probable insurance against retribution. In addition he sends his brother's grandson, Labraid Loingsech, into exile and is later killed in vengeance by him (Macalister 1995: 277-79). However, we learn that Cobthach reigned in Ireland for fifty years, so again we see that occasionally, kin-slayings are justified if they are done to take the throne.

Under the reign of Cairpre Lifechair, we hear about an individual called Fíacha Sroibhtine. There is a section of the text stating that instead of falling in battle, Fíacha was slain by the three sons of his brother (Macalister 1995: 341). This could be a justification for an occurrence that either happened while the MSS were being written, or which was used to justify an act that had occurred in the past by the "descendants" of this lineage.

The final kin-slaying is enacted by a woman. This is the only kin-slaying within LGÉ involving a woman. The actual description of it differs in each recension, in that it becomes more elaborate: Recension 1 simply states that Crimthann mac Fidaig fell by the hand of his sister, Mongfhind. The Miniugud version, tells of a 'deadly drink.' Recension 3, MS BB elaborates further, saying it was a 'drink of venom'. Finally, in Recension 3, MS L we are told where the poison was made and that it was meant for Crimthann's foster-son, Níall, whom Mongfhind hated. The final elaboration is that Crimthann took the drink to protect Níall and died instead (Macalister 1995: 347).

The common thread of all versions of this story is that Níall Núi-Giallach takes the kingship without the stain of murder in any form on his hands. In the final version discussed, Crimthann even sacrifices himself for Níall in a sort of recognition of Níall's greater importance. The major difference between this and the other kin-slayings is that we are told that poison is the

method of death. Poison has long been considered "the woman's weapon", or more universally that of a coward, or one who is afraid to face his foe or one who is weaker than his foe. Whichever interpretation is used, it is not considered an honorable method of killing. This also assists the church of the day in showing the treacherous nature of women in general.

Vengeance:

According to the text, the Meic Míled invasion was an act of retribution for the killing of Íth (Macalister 1987²: 127, 185, 211; *ibid.* 1995: 21, 99). This is a justified vengeance in that Íth had done nothing to provoke the Túatha Dé Danann. Therefore, in this instance, this behaviour follows the Biblical adage "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth". It also meets the pre-Christian societies practice of the kin group seeking revenge for a slaying when an honour price is not paid (Kelly 1991: 126-27).

The other vengeance slayings appear in Volume 5 of Macalister's edition. Írial Fáid mac Érimóin slew the four sons of Éber who were: Ér, Orba, Ferón and Fergna. This was in revenge for these brothers having killed two of his own brethren for the kingship (Macalister 1995: 187-89). Tigernmass slew Conmáel mac Ébir in revenge for his father's and grandfather's death (Macalister 1995: 199). Conmáel had previously killed Ethriel mac Rial Fáid for the kingship (Macalister 1995: 195). Fiachu Findoilches was killed by Berngal mac Géde in vengeance for the slaying of father (Macalister 1995: 239).

Eochu Fóebarglass was taken in vengeance for the slaying of Smirgol mac Tigernmass by Fiacha Labrainne (Macalister 1995: 213-15). Labraid Loingsech killed Cobthach Cól Breg in revenge for Cobthach having committed a kin-slaying, and killing both Labraid's father and grandfather as well as sending Loingsech himself into exile. The kin-slaying Cobthach

committed ignited a war between *Laigin* and *Leth Cuinn* (Macalister 1995: 275-77). As Labraid continued to reign for either nineteen or thirty years (depending on the recension consulted), and because the previous king had started a major war due to a kin-slaying, we can assume that, in this instance, Labraid's was a just vengeance slaying. However, we learn that Labraid is then cut down by the kin of Cobthach in vengeance for the slaying of their father (Macalister 1995: 279).

The final vengeance slaying is committed by Ugoine Mór for the murder of his foster-mother, Macha. She was slain by Rechtaid Rígderg whilst she was queen of Ireland (Macalister 1995: 267). The only differences between this last slaying and the others is that it was a queen who had been slain while ruling Ireland and not a king, and that she was avenged by her foster-son not her biological son. However, it has been established that, at times, fosterlings were closer to their foster parents than their biological parents. Alternatively, Macha may not have had a biological son to avenge her.

What we can see from the above vengeance slayings is that, whilst such killings were an accepted part of the society, there was also retribution for those killings. It may not have been swift retribution, however, as some of the kings ruled for quite some time after they gained kingship. Since the avenger was most often the former king's son, this time delay could have been the gap that was necessary for the son to gain support or even come of age. What we do not see is a reign marred by crop failure, plague or any other sign of divine or supernatural disapproval of the actions of any of the kings listed above.

There is an incident of a possible act of revenge in which the victim, Mál mac Rochride, who had killed for the kingship of Ireland, may not have had just cause to do so. But, the only evidence to support this is that he was then

taken in revenge after only four years by Feidlimid Rechtaid mac Túathal Techtmair (Macalister 1995: 323). Another indicator is that Túathal Techtmair's reign was a long and prosperous one (Macalister 1995: 309-21).

Other:

The slaying of the four brothers; Bocc, Robocc, Rodan and Ruibne by Nemed has already been discussed in depth in the place names section of this thesis. Their killing was discussed within *Section 2*, and I only mention it here for the sake of completeness. It was the killing of the Fomoraige brothers after the digging of *Raith Cimbaith*. I theorized that it was a sacrificial slaying, where Macalister believed it was to keep technological knowledge out of the hands of the enemy.

Another episode that does not fit into the above categories is that of suicide. We have one incident of a death of this type and it is that of Lugaid Riab nDerg. We are told he reigned for '...twenty-five years, till he fell upon his sword for sorrow of his wife.' (Macalister 1995: 303). We are told that he was a product of an incestuous relationship, who in turn had a child through incest (see above). Though his reign was long, unfavourable events which took place during his reign bring about the speculation as to the true portents of his reign: these events are the deaths of Saints Peter, Paul and Mary Magdalene as well as the burning of Rome (Macalister 1995: 303).

Two other types of deaths that do not fit the above categories are lightning strikes and burnings: Rothechtaid Rotha was said to have been killed by being struck by lightning at *Dún Sobairce* (Macalister 1995: 245). Likewise, Nathí is either said to have been struck by lightning or to have been burned by a fire. In the more elaborate MS L, his death occurred after he had captured a tower belonging to Formenius, the former-king-of-Thrace-turned-holy-man. When Formenius learned of the tower's capture he prayed to God, whereupon

God struck Nathí down with lightning (Macalister 1995: 351-53).

Eochu Airem was also burned. In Recension 1 we are only told that it was done by Siugmall. In Recension 3, it is either by Suigmall or by Eochu's people because of heavy taxes (Macalister 1995: 299). There is another excerpt under Finnachta Fledach, that tells us: 'Burning of the kings in Dún Chethirn.' (Macalister 1995: 383). We can guess nothing more than that it could be a revolt as seen in Eochu Airem's death, a ritual of some sort, or a cremation ceremony as it follows the statement of Finnachta's death.

Wife Trading:

Under this heading I have included two incidents that do not quite fit the description of Wife Trading but are worth elaborating upon. After the defeat of the Fir Bolg, their queen, Tailtiu, comes over from Spain and dwells with two of the Túatha Dé Danann in turn, Eochaid nGarb mac Duach Daill and Cian mac Dían Cecht (Macalister 1987²: 115, 117, 149, 179). Could it be that Tailtiu¹⁶⁴ here represents a sovereignty goddess as she was the daughter of a king, wedded the Fir Bolg king and then took up residence with the new lords of Ireland?

Now for an episode that some scholars believe is a reason for the supposed matrilineal descent among the Picts, here referred to as the Cruithne or, in Irish, *Cruithentúaith*. It is seen in a gloss that was added to the text but follows Éremóin having vanquished the Cruithne, they return to him to ask for wives. MS L cites the reason the Cruithne didn't have wives is because the women of Alba had all died of a disease. Éremóin grants this request by giving them the women of the men who had drowned with Donn while invading Ireland, on condition that the women inherit '...no less from men

¹⁶⁴As we have seen above, she was involved in naming the hill of Tara.

among the Cruithne-folk than from the women for ever.' and demands the celestial bodies as sureties (Macalister 1995: 181, 185). It is possible that this is merely an acceptable explanation as to why the Picts have some matrilineal inheritance. However, it could also be either in full, or again, adjusted to suit Christian sensibilities, a hold over from a common practice of two societies exchanging women to avoid episodes of incest and keep a variation within the gene pool (Although, once again, I doubt it was quite that clinical a decision).

Disasters and Population Tragedies:

Floods, Plagues and other types of natural disasters are not uncommon. Even in the modern era we often see these types of tragedies. Within mythology, especially Indo-European mythology, Floods and Plagues are frequent and are usually a form of retribution from some malevolent or angry deity. In LGÉ they are more often used in a sort of cleansing technique. If we look at Ireland as an evolving entity instead of a landmass, perhaps it will make this concept clearer: in each invasion Ireland gains something. Typically, a feature is created or named. This brings us back to the proto-creation theory discussed in *Chapter Two, Section 2*. Something is added to the landscape in all invasions except, theoretically, that of the Fir Bolg. But, we see that even this invasion created a feature in the landscape. However, the people were not the rightful inheritors of Ireland. Instead, Ireland is preparing herself for the Gáedel. We know of this because of the prophecy that Míl is given and because of the discussions and prophecy of Ériu on *Sliab Mís*. Also, each of the previous invasions are related to the Meic Míled, as we saw in Recension 1, Volume 1 of Macalister.

With this in mind, we can see invaders accepted for a period of time and then expelled, because of their closeness in lineage to Ireland's chosen inhabitants. The elusive Fomoraige are allowed to remain in the role of a beneficial parasite, rather than a race of people. They do not live on Ireland itself but on

one of her islands. The Fomoraige serve the purpose of harrying the unwanted invasions away from Ireland until they have gained favorable traits.

Macalister's insistence that the Fir Bolg and the Fomoraige are the same group of people could explain why the Fir Bolg are allowed to stay on Ireland when all others are persuaded to leave. The Túatha Dé Danann are much the same. They arrive and defeat the Fir Bolg, then they are challenged by the Fomoraige who they also defeat in the *Second Caith Maige Tuired*. This leaves the Túatha Dé Danann in Ireland to test the mettle of the Meic Míled for their acceptance as the rightful inhabitants of Ireland.

They, in turn, are defeated by the Meic Míled and go to the outskirts of Ireland or underground, fitting quite disturbingly in as parasitic inhabitants. In other tales within the Irish literature the Túatha Dé Danann continue to ask for tribute from the Meic Míled and occasionally provide both help and hinderance to the new inhabitants of Ireland¹⁶⁵. Now my qualifications for the above: I do not think that the compilers of LGÉ consciously made this comparison at anytime. I would be highly surprised if they had. I do not feel that the Túatha Dé Danann were a parasitic race whose only purpose was to test would-be raiders of Ireland. There is far too much evidence to support their originally divine nature, evidence with which I agree. This is merely the only role in the above analogy where they fit. Now to return to the task at hand, which is to show how Floods and Plagues were a method used to cleanse Ireland from the unwanted inhabitants or ruler.

Floods and Drowning:

The instances of drowning within the text are numerous. However, probably due to Christian intervention, the instance of a catastrophic Flood within the

¹⁶⁵This could be an illustration of actual political circumstances. Dynasties that held power at one point could continue to demand tribute even though they can no longer enforce the collection of the tribute.

text is limited to the Biblical Flood¹⁶⁶. The Biblical Flood is said to have stopped the only non-lineage linked group from landing on Ireland, a direct case of Divine Intervention on the behalf of Ireland. This instance is the drowning of the 'three fishermen from Spain' (Macalister 1996: 179, 185, 199). I have already discussed the episode of the drowning at the tower of gold in the sequence of Nemed. There is a similar drowning, again the casualties were the Nemedians, but in this case it was at *Torinis Chetni*, the Tower of Conand. The sea came up over them while they were fighting and only one ship escaped (Macalister 1987: 125, 141-43).

We hear of one episode of simple drowning and that is of Cellach. It is also written that he could have died in his sleep and his body was carried down the Boyne (Macalister 1995: 379). The second version of the tale suggests a possible water burial by means of setting the body adrift. In a culture that held water in such holy regard this is certainly a possibility which cannot be discounted.

Shipwrecks:

Outside of the shipwrecks we learn of in the invasion of Cessair (which happened while trying to land on Ireland) and Nemed's invasion losing vessels at the two towers, there is one other incident of a shipwreck; that is the swamping of the vessel of Donn during the second landing of the Meic Míled. This happened just after Donn boasted of putting all of Ireland '...under the edge of spear and sword...' and after chiding his own druids for not being able to counter the magic of the Túatha Dé Danann (Macalister 1995: 39, 57, 65, 71, 81, 99). All those on board the ship were drowned.

¹⁶⁶See notes above about Macalister feeling the Cessair text was a pre-Christian flood episode.

This incident created a place name at the site of their drowning. It also shows a curbing of boastfulness that befits the Christian ideal of humility. Because of a boast, Donn and his crew drown. Another possibility is interference from Ireland, herself. It could be that Ireland recognized the further importance of the Túatha Dé Danann and were protecting them from Donn's intended harshness.

Plagues and Diseases:

Plagues are more common in the text and I have very little doubt that this was reflected in the life of the people concerned with writing them. Plagues are said to have taken the invasions of Banba (Macalister 1996: 177, 197); Partholón¹⁶⁷ (Macalister 1996: 193, 273, *ibid.* 1987: 19, 21, 27); and Nemed, along with some of his followers, but not all of them (Macalister 1987:123, 125, 135, 137). Even one of the progeny of Nemed who stayed in Ireland is taken by plague (Macalister 1987: 145).

A point of interest is that, in Recension 3, Partholón is said to have died of plague on Beltane (Macalister 1987: 21), a pre-Christian fire festival (Green 1991: 436-38). This would appear to be negative propaganda against the pagan festival by the Christians. Two leaders of the Fir Bolg were also taken by plague, Gand and Gengand (Macalister 1987²: 9, 19, 33). We see that even the Gáedel were not immune to plague as it attacks their ships during their wanderings (Macalister 1996: 21, 31, 73, 79; *ibid.* 1995: 25).

The other narrative portions where plague is prevalent are the deaths of kings. The first to succumb is Mumme, one of the first kings after Éremóin

¹⁶⁷There are two segments that Partholón's people were driven out of Ireland or slaughtered by a group known as the *Concheind* or Cynocephali (Macalister 1996: 177, 197). And in Recensions 2 and 3 Partholón himself dies of a wound from a 'gory dart' (Macalister 1987: 15).

(Macalister 1995: 187). The others are: Muinemón (Macalister 1995: 233); Finnachta (Macalister 1995: 235); Sírna Sóeglach (Macalister 1995: 245); Eoch Apthach (Macalister 1995: 251); Énna Derg who died with his troops of plague (Macalister 1995: 255); Rudraige mac Sithride (Macalister 1995: 291); Aed Úaridnach (Macalister 1995: 375).

These kings are listed as having died of unknown illnesses: Eochu Mugmedon (Macalister 1995: 347); Domdcad mac Domnaill (Macalister 1995: 395); Diarmait hua Máil-Sechlainn (Macalister 1995: 413). Domnall Brecc either died in battle or of plague (Macalister 1995: 377). Muirchetach hua Brían Boromha died of 'a heavy sickness'. As none of these kings, save Diarmait and Muirchetach, who are historical, are particularly important or distinguished in any way a plague is an expedient method to move through the genealogy. We must remember most of these kings are created not historical.

Enslavements and Oppression:

There are four notable Enslavements or Oppressions within the tradition of LGÉ: the oppression of Nemedians by the Fomoraige; the enslavement of the Fir Bolg by the Greeks; the oppression of the Fir Bolg after being defeated by the Túatha Dé Danann; and the oppression of the Túatha Dé Danann by the Fomoraige. The first oppression came about after Nemed's death. Presumably the absence of his strong leadership made the Nemedians easy prey for the Fomoraige (Macalister 1987: 123). Part of this oppression was a heavy tax and tribute of two-thirds of their corn, milk and children delivered to *Mag Cétné* every Samain, which is the biggest festival of the pre-Christian year (Macalister 1987: 125, 139-41). This oppression resulted in their attack on the Tower of Conand (as seen above), their initial success and subsequent failure and exodus from Ireland (Macalister 1987: 125, 143, 163).

The idea of the sins of a king being visited upon his subjects has appeared

earlier within LGÉ. This was the episode of Partholón's kin-slaying. Because of this crime, his people perish. This is also a common motif within the Irish literary tradition (eg. the tale of *Da Derga's Hostel*). It could also be a reflection of the oppression of the Isrealites as seen within the Bible. This would further demonstrate the hypothesis of the imperfect Divine Plan. While, as noted above, the Samain tribute date falls on the major pagan holiday, it is also prudent to note that this date has the practical value of closely following the harvest season. Another practical note about oppressions in general is that they were a way of life for the Irish society of the time. The hierarchal nature of the society meant that at any one time many of the tribes were being oppressed by their neighbours. Therefore, the Oppressions can also be seen to reflect the lifestyle of the society with historical accuracy.

The enslavement of the Fir Bolg by the Greeks and their subsequent exodus back to Ireland follows the oppression of the Nemed within the text (Macalister 1987: 125, 145, 157; *ibid.* 1987²: 15). We have seen that the Fir Bolg were previously part of the Nemed invasion before their enslavement in Greece. There is much speculation between scholars and even within the text as to how they received their name. Two explanations that occur within the text are either because of their labour, moving the soil with bags (Macalister 1987: 147), or because their escape vessels were made from bags (Macalister 1987: 125) that they are known as 'men of the bags'.¹⁶⁸

After the first battle of *Magie Tuired* and defeat of the Fir Bolg at the hands of the Túatha Dé Danann, the surviving Fir Bolg fled to the modern Arran Islands. There they stayed until they were driven out by another group, the *Cruithnig* (the Cruithne). The Fir Bolg returned to Ireland and came to Cairbri Nia Fer, who gave them lands but imposed a heavy tax upon them, which

¹⁶⁸ For the more about the Fir Bolg see T. F.O'Rahilly 1984: 43-57.

forced the Fir Bolg to flee to Connaught and to the protection of the Táin Bó Cúailnge's Medb and Ailill. (Macalister 1987²: 11, 23, 35, 111, 173).

A final note about Oppression episodes: according to the *Cath Maige Tuired* (Gray 1980: 185 ff.; ibid 1982: 185-209 & 230 ff.), there was a harsh oppression of the Túatha Dé Danann by the Fomoraige after Bress begins his reign. This does not occur within the MSS Macalister has used for his edition of LGÉ, or if it does he has chosen not to include it. The only mention of anything remotely close to this episode is that, within the *First Cath Maige Tuired*, we see the king of the Túatha Dé Danann, Nuadu, lose his arm, thus disqualifying him for the kingship. Then we are only told that Bress rules until Nuadu's arm is replaced by one made of silver or his own is restored (Macalister 1987²: 113-15, 149, 177).

This omission of a now famous episode suggests that either it was developed after these MSS were written or that they were included within a different strand of the Mythological Cycle. For whichever reason the compilers did not see fit to include the oppression of the Túatha Dé Danann within these MSS of LGÉ. Perhaps, as suggested previously in *Chapter One, Section 2* the MSS were merely outlines and, as the oppression of the Túatha Dé Danann was a well-known tale, the mention of Bress and Nuadu was enough to remind the educated reader of the *Cath Maige Tuired* in full. Another possibility is that the episode serves two different purposes, one within LGÉ and the other as suggested by Tomás Ó Cathasaigh (Ó Cathasaigh 1983: 1 ff.).

Initial Episodes:

As previously mentioned in the *Prelude to Chapter Two*, the first time an event occurs is often the paradigm of that event, or is seen as setting a precedent for the societal response for similar events. Within LGÉ, Initial Episodes can also be broken down into subcategories. These are: the first

person to arrive at location; the first to have died, either at a certain place or during an invasion; the first to perform an act; the first to behave in a certain manner. For this thesis these will be called: Initial Landings and Initial Deaths, respectively, and the last two will be combined into one category called Initial Events. My hypothesis is, as previously stated, that these Initial Episodes would have originally represented the paradigm of that event with the obvious exception of the deaths. Unfortunately, the tales in this version of LGÉ do not contain enough detail to support this hypothesis. However, I will show how these initial episodes are related to the overall makeup of the society.

Initial Landings:

Within *Section 2* of this Chapter, we saw that initial deaths and many initial landings often result in the naming of the location after either the deceased or the leader of the landing. As these have already been discussed, they will be mentioned but not elaborated upon again here.

Landings on the Island of Ireland :

The first series of Initial Landings are those that entail a "first footing" upon Ireland itself. All three recensions contain a version the Cessair invasion being the first to actually take Ireland (Macalister 1996: 181, 185, 199). Yet, all three recension also mention the existence of two other possibilities, the first of which is commonly known as the "invasion of the three Spanish fishermen" (Macalister 1996: 179, 185, 199). The invasion of the three fishermen is, within the text, not counted among the invasions because they never actually land on Ireland (Macalister 1996: 179). As for the second possibility, Banba, Recensions 1 and 3 give relatively full accounts of her invasion and we see that it mirrors the invasion of Cessair in all but the Biblical connections to Noah (Macalister 1996: 177-79, 197). While Recension 2 merely suggests that the female leader's name was Banba, not

Cessair (Macalister 1996: 185).

As mentioned in *Chapter Two, Section 2* Banba could be an Irish deity that the monastic compilers have tried to eliminate from the mythology. Within LGÉ, Banba is the leader of the first invasion and is later seen greeting the Meic Míled and demanding to have Ireland named after her. When the Meic Míled ask who she is, she claims to have survived the Flood and says that she is older than Noah (Macalister 1995: 77). It could be that this is another element of the pre-Christian mythology. Macalister himself hints at this when he claims: 'In the original (pagan) legend Cessair must have survived her Flood: in fact, her voyage to Ireland is essentially her flood-voyage.' (Macalister 1996: 173). It appears that either he overlooked the recurrence of Banba within the later section of LGÉ, or he was going to comment upon it when he edited this section¹⁶⁹. These two excerpts could be all we have left within LGÉ of Banba's sovereignty myth.

There are only two other landings on Ireland that are noted as initial landings. These are Partholón's invasion as the first invasion after the Flood (Macalister 1996: 39), and Íth's initial spying of Ireland from Breogan's Tower and subsequent voyage and death there (Macalister 1996: 45, *ibid.* 1995: 11). Íth's death is cited as the reason that the Meic Míled journey to Ireland. Yet, allowing for the theory of circling to show a taking as discussed in *Chapter Two, Section 2*, then it was Íth, out of the Meic Míled who first took Ireland.

Sites on Ireland:

There are only three other sites associated with first landings or explorations of Ireland. The first has been discussed previously in this chapter in *Section 2: Place Names*. It is the initial landing of Colptha at *Inber Colpthater*

¹⁶⁹A reminder here that Dr. Macalister died prior to finishing his work on LGÉ.

(Macalister 1995: 41, 87, 101). The only information we have is that this is the first place Colptha landed. It is possible that this initial event is recounted to add legitimacy to Colptha as a son of Míl, by providing him with a heroic feat. The second site of an initial episode is Sliab Mis. This is where the Meic Miled fought their first battle in Ireland (Macalister 1995: 33, 61, 75), and is also discussed in *Section 2: Place Names*. Likewise, there is little else to mention about the episode except that it has a place name story to commemorate an Initial Event.

The third episode is of the first people to explore the mounds of Ireland. This initial exploration is only recorded in Recension 2. The individuals involved are the sons of the Dagda; Oengus, Aed and Cermat (Macalister 1987²: 157). The question before us is, why would there be a first exploration of the mounds of Ireland? The exploration is accomplished by the sons of the Dagda, who are also said to have been buried within the mounds of the síd (Macalister 1987²: 121, 151, 181). This indicates a confused version of events. It is the Túatha Dé Danann who eventually inhabit the mounds of Ireland after they are defeated by the Meic Miled, thereby giving the mound their Otherworldly and dangerous connotations. Therefore, Oengus, Aed and Cermat should need no protection from the druids when exploring the mounds, as the danger of the síd is caused by of the Túatha Dé Danann. Or could it be that this is another glimpse of pre-Christian beliefs? That is that the mounds were places of danger greater than that posed solely by the Túatha Dé Danann.

Initial Deaths:

Place Name Associated:

The following Initial Deaths have already been discussed and are cited here for the sake of completeness: the deaths of Ladru, Fea, Macha, Sláine and Íth (or in a gloss in Recension 2, one of his followers) are the initial deaths of the invasions of Cessair, Partholón, Nemed, Fir Bolg and the Meic Miled

respectively. As was seen in the previous section, each of these individuals was of a high status within his or her invasion, and his or her place of burial or death gained that person's name. For more detail on these episodes please see *Section 2: Place Names*.

The only one of the above listed individuals that has any other initial episodes attached to him is Fea within Recension 2. He was also the first born in Laigen as well as the first of his invasion to die (Macalister 1987: 13). A possible point of illumination about an ode containing an individual who is the first born or first to die, is that it is similar to a harvest ritual of sacrificing the first crop harvested back to the land so that the rest of the harvest is fruitful. However, other than the statement that Fea is the first born/first dead, we have no other indication of this.

Other:

Eochaid mac Eircc, a king of the Fir Bolg, is the first to fall by a spear-point or javelin (Macalister 1987²: 33, 45). He was killed by the three sons of Nemed (note: Not the Nemed of the third invasion). While he was king he had a prosperous reign. The text shows that during this time the Túatha Dé Danann arrive in Ireland. Possibly, the compilers were implying that the Túatha Dé Danann brought the technology necessary for spears and javelins. This tale only occurs in Recension 3 and the Miniugud.

Eidleo mac Adhlai is said to have been the first of the Túatha Dé Danann to have died in Ireland at the battle of *Maige Tuired* (Macalister 1987²: 113, 147, 176). He is a figure of no other significance within this thesis and perhaps that is why he is the first to fall.

Initial Events:

The most logical manner in which to progress under this sub-heading is

chronologically through the invasions, noting when a behaviour has been mentioned previously. There are no Initial Behaviours prior to the invasion of Partholón outside of those mentioned in the Creation sequence (discussed previously in this section). At first glance, the theory that the precedents of the cultural traits (or the traits of the culture as a whole) are created within the invasions appears to be only logical. The invasion of Partholón as a starting point, as it is the first after the Flood also seems to be logical. However, it must be remembered that all the members of Partholón's invasion force die. Therefore, these behaviours would have to have been rediscovered in subsequent invasions.

We will see below that this does not occur within the text. This leads to a quandary. How were these cultural traits passed on to subsequent invasion forces? Earlier in this section I have discussed the viewing of Ireland as sentient entity, retaining cultural traits and instilling them in her chosen inhabitants through some supernatural process. This is supported, even to this day, as Ireland is addressed by natives and non-natives (including scholars), consistently and almost unconsciously in the female gender¹⁷⁰. A second hypothesis is that the compilers did not, for whatever reason, explain how or why the initial behaviours from Partholón's invasion still exist as fundamental behaviours in the society they were living in. These are behaviours that we will see are part of the core culture of what we understand as not only Irish, but Celtic society as a whole.

Partholón:

There are eight Initial Behaviours that are attributed to men in the company of Partholón. Depending on the invasion, different people are credited with being the first to have performed the various behaviours. These are: the first house;

¹⁷⁰Here I am referring to the English and various Celtic languages.

the first guesting-house; first "flesh cauldron"; first duelling; first suretyship; and first ale-drinking.

The first house, duelling, and flesh cauldron are attributed to Brega (also as Brea) mac Senbotha in Recensions 1, 2 and 3 (Macalister 1996: 273, *ibid* 1987: 9). However, of the two MSS provided, MS BB has Brega as the builder of the first house, and he is accredited with the first duelling and flesh cauldron as well. The other MS, L, attributes the first guesting-house to Brega (Macalister 1987:25). Also, in Recension 3, MS L after the guesting-house has been attributed to Brega, it is then re-attributed to Beoir (Macalister 1987: 25).

To further complicate matters, there is a line in the combined Recensions 2 and 3 in the beginning of Macalister's Volume 3 that has the first guesting-house attributed to Partholón's steward, Beóil. While Recension 1 has Beoir as the builder of the first guesting-house (Macalister 1996: 273). It is probable that the discrepancy between Beóil and Beoir are merely a scribal error, mistaking the terminal letter in the name, or a discrepancy due to the form of "short-hand" used within the MSS.

This raises the query: to whom should the first guesting-house be attributed? In Recension 1 there is no mention of the status of the individuals responsible for these initial events (Macalister 1996: 273). Therefore, the most logical person is Brega as he also has the first flesh cauldron. I understand this as the first to either have cooked meat, or the first to have used a technique of boiling meat in a cauldron, thus creating either boiled meat (one would assume pork) or stew.

However, in Macalister's Volume 3, within the combined Recension 2/3 section of the text, Brega's genealogy is extended to show he is the grandson of Partholón and Beóil is Partholón's steward (Macalister 1987: 9). In this context it makes sense for Beóil to have created, as stated, the guesting-house.

The reasoning behind this statement is that it would be below a societal member who could conceivably become king to act in the manner of a commoner (Kelly 1991: 18-19), but would be suitable for one who already is a steward. The creation of the flesh cauldron would show a prospective leader providing food for his people so it may not have gone against his kingly status, but instead it would have supported his claim.

In the third area of controversy, the two MSS from Recension 3, Macalister ignores MS L's mention of Brega having created the first guesting-house when writing his notes for ¶ 224. Instead, he combines his notes for ¶224 and ¶225 and seems to imply that the first guesting-house is attributed to the poet and leech in ¶225 (Macalister 1987: 94-95)¹⁷¹. However, this section shows that these people, with those listed above them in the relevant paragraph of the text, were involved in the first guesting, not the creation of the first guesting-house (Macalister 1987: 24-27). Compare below:

Ocus fa di daim Parrthaloin Beoir, candearnad teach naidead ar tus in Erinn.

And of the company of Partholon was Beoir, by whom was made a guesting-house first in Ireland. (Macalister 1987: 24-25)

Ocus fa di daim a f[h]ilig [agus] a liaig, .i. Bacorp in liaid [agus] Ladru in file, [agus] is iad do rindi aididecht ar tus riam in Erinn.

Of his company were his poet and his leech, Bacorp the leech and Ladru the poet, and it is they who first of all made a guesting in Ireland. (Macalister 1987: 26-27)

¹⁷¹Here I have provided the paragraph numbers within Macalister's edition of LGÉ for ease of reference.

This leads me to believe that Brega's claim to the first guesting-house was an addition from a previous MS, as it is not denoted in the text as a gloss. The evidence of the cauldron and the first house may have led the compilers to make the additional comments that it was a guesting-house, not realizing that it had already been attributed to Beoir. Then, for whatever reason, it was never corrected, leaving two individuals responsible for the same event within a single paragraph. However, in this paragraph, Brega is the eldest of Partholón's chieftains and Beoir's status is not mentioned. This lack of status, or more importantly, lack of leadership status, leads me to believe in this instance Beoir is the rightful creator of guesting-house.

In the discussion of the first ale-drinking and the first suretyship there are little of the above complications: in Recension 1 they are attributed to Samailiath (Macalister 1996: 273). In the combined Recension 2/3 in Volume 3 they are attributed to Malaliach, who it has been determined by Macalister, is the same person as Samailiath.¹⁷² Samailiath is said to be the first brewer and the type of ale is specified to be fern-ale in the MSS BB, and L (Macalister 1987: 9). In MS BB he is said to be the first to drink ale and in the paying of suretyship. And within MS L, he is the first to make beer and ale and suretyship (Macalister 1987: 25).

The events that all three recensions agree upon in Partholón's invasion are: the first cattle, who were the four oxen owned by Partholón (Macalister 1996: 273, *ibid* 1987: 9, 25); the first division of Ireland by the sons of Partholón (Macalister 1996: 273, *ibid.* 1987: 21, 23); the first battle for Ireland between Partholón and Cichul Gricencos (Macalister 1996: 271, *ibid.* 1987: 13).

¹⁷² This individual is later referred to as Samaile Liath. For more detail please see Macalister's notes (Macalister 1987: 94-95).

Other Initial Events occurring only in Recension 3 are: the list of the individuals who made the first guesting in Ireland; Partholón's two merchants Iban and Eban, 'Iban first got gold in Ireland and Eban got cattle and kine.' ; 'Under the Taking of Partholon was building first done in Ireland, and a quern, and churning, and ale. It is in the Taking of Cesair that sheep were first brought into Ireland.' (Macalister 1987:27).

Looking over the Initial Events above one wonders why these events were chosen to be within this invasion. One possible answer is that this is simply how the compilers learned this oral tradition. However, this is not a full answer. Someone or a group of individuals had to have originated these tales. I would like to suggest that of the Initial Events within this invasion, or in the case of the first sheep, that are cited within this invasion, are central to LGÉ culture, and based on our knowledge of the pre-Christian era are also fundamental to the culture of that society as well. Because these events represent goods or practices fundamental to the Irish Celtic society, they were placed within the first invasion sequence of Ireland.

Housing, cooked food, querns and churning are basic needs for practically all tribal peoples. As for ale, beers and brewing, although bordering upon desires rather than needs, it is a fact that most developed tribal peoples have fermented beverages. Cattle, gold and sheep appear more as status symbols.

In most tales it is rarely beef or mutton that is eaten but rather pork.

However, sheep (who apparently were not affected by the Flood) and cattle were status symbols in the pre-Christian period and large herds were necessary for the velum used in the manuscripts being written. Gold was a decorative material used for upper class personal adornment and later for decoration on the various holy books and reliquaries, as well as for personal ornamentation.

Duelling was a legal means of trial for certain infractions but could not be

performed at certain places or times. As not all duels were to the death, but could be stopped if a mishap occurred (slipping, shield breakage, illness upon entering the field), there seems to be a ritual nature to this event (Kelly 1991: 211-13). Guesting is another central point of honour within the Celtic society, for pre-Christian and post-Christianity, demonstrating both wealth and generosity, and suretyship is the medium through which the honour-price system of law is implemented.

Fir Bolg:

One individual is responsible for all the Initial Events of the Fir Bolg invasion, Eochaid mac Eircc, one of their kings. According to all three recensions and the Miniugud, Eochaid is the first to execute a law of justice in Ireland (Macalister 1987²: 11, 21, 33, 45). Recension 3 alone states that he was the First king of the Fir Bolg to sit in *Temair*. As previously discussed, *Temair* is the hill of Tara and seat of the high kings of Ireland. Eochaid having resided there most probably attests to his greatness as a ruler, along with the other hallmarks of a prosperous reign (Macalister 1987²: 179). The execution of a just law has no need for an explanation beyond why it did not take place sooner?

My hypothesis is that the compilers, through a progression from the pagan past to the Christian era, are demonstrating the development of their society and its growth towards the ideal held by LGÉ culture. Also, the Fir Bolg were an oppressed race who had to flee time and time again. Having a code of internal justice to counter the injustices placed upon them might have seemed logical to our archaic editors. Another possibility, is that the Fir Bolg were the first invasion to stay in Ireland. This would mean that the laws have a continuity through the population, as the Fir Bolg were never eliminated, merely oppressed. The drawback to this way of thinking is that this circumstance did not keep the other cultural traits from being ascribed to

Partholón's invasion.

Túatha Dé Danann:

The Túatha Dé Danann as a group are accredited within Recensions 2 and 3 with having invented battle shouting and uproar (Macalister 1987²: 161, 197). We know from the Classical Writers that the Celts would make a loud noise before going to battle in hopes of scaring their enemies. Lug mac Eithlenn (noted once as Lug mac Céin)¹⁷³ is attributed to being the first to chess-play, ball-play, horse-race, horse-combat, make an assembly and an "assembly contesting" in Ireland, varying slightly in each recension (Macalister 1987²: 129, 135, 161, 197). All of these were forms of entertainment and contesting in the early medieval period.

Meic Míled:

The Initial Events attributed to the Meic Míled are the three judgments of Aimirgin Glúingel, (Macalister 1995: 37, 47, 55, 69, 79, 95) and the Lay of Lugaid mac Ítha over his wife Féile (Macalister 1995: 61, 95). Both of these are more poetical, and develop skills closer to those of the literati that were inscribing LGÉ. As the compilers often possessed these skills and honoured them highly, they would not have been attributed to distant pagan ancestors, but rather just far enough in the past to have a distinguished heritage without unredeemable pagan associations.

Roll of the Kings:

Tigernmas mac Ollaig is another king who had several Place Name associations, as well as Initial Episodes. His reign is accredited with: the first to have purple and green upon a garment; broaches, of gold and silver; fringes

¹⁷³Lug is most often called Lug mac Eithlenn (ingen Balar), emphasizing his mother's lineage as opposed to the more common paternal line. This maternal emphasis links Lug to the Fomoraige.

upon garments; ornamentation; drinking horns; the first gold mine; and the smelting of gold (Macalister 1995: 202-09). In general, all the extravagance and vanity that the Classical Writers and La Tène burials demonstrate was a characteristic of the pagan Celts.

Énna Airgdech, is within the text, the first we encounter who claims to have originated the creation of silver shields (Macalister 1995: 229, 265). Later in the text we also see Eochaid Opthach claiming to be the first to have created (in his case) silver or brazen shields (Macalister 1995: 249). These shields are seen in burials, and are most likely to have been strictly ornamental and decorative status symbols rather than functional, because of the softness of the metal used.

The creation of more personal adornment is accredited to Muinemón and Faildergdóit. Muinemón was said to have first given out neck torcs, and Faildergdóit is the first to have '...rings of gold enclose[d] the hands first in Ireland.' (Macalister 1995: 233). Rings for fingers, neck torcs and wrist torcs have been found in archaeological sites as symbols of wealth and indicators of social status within the society.

The next three Initial Events are of a more practical nature: a tax on white-headed cattle by Fiachu Findoilches (Macalister 1995: 239); the first four-wheeled chariot by Rothechtaid Rotha (Macalister 1995: 245); the first wages to hirelings by Sétna Innarrad mac Breise (Macalister 1995: 251-53); and the first "reckoning" by Óengus Turmeach, although we are not told what he "reckoned" (Macalister 1995: 285). Note if you will, the significance of the first two kings' name as it relates to the event they are responsible for.

The next three topics come closest to this heading rather than any of the others: the first group of events are connected with sites and are either factual

entries or political propaganda created by the compilers for any number of reasons, from the union of Ireland to the inflation of a particular lineage or location above its adversaries'. The first group is comprised of the first kings of Ireland from the various provinces. The first king of Ireland from *Mumu* was Conmáel mac Ébir (Macalister 1995: 199); the first kings of Ireland from *Uliad* were Sobairce and Cermna, in joint rulership (Macalister 1995: 211), (the preceding have already been discussed in *Chapter 2, Section 2*); the first king of Ireland from *Emain Macha*, as well as the first prince of *Emain Macha* was Cimbáeth (Macalister 1995: 263). In not precisely the category with the above kings but also a location related event, Ollom Fotla is said to have convened the first assembly at *Temair* in all three recensions (Macalister 1995: 135, 295). The third group is of three statements that within the text, read like annal entries: the first is 'Cormac the first abbot.' but we are not told of where (Macalister 1995: 359); 'The first burning of Árd Macha.' (Macalister 1995: 381); 'The first ravaging of Árd Macha by the Foreigners.' (Macalister 1995: 397).

Conclusions to Section 3:

In summarizing this section, there are several points to consider: to begin with, the Biblically-relevant section of LGÉ has the overall theme one would expect; that is, when an individual goes against God or commits some form of wrong-doing, he is punished in some manner. This is also seen within the Cessair invasion. Cessair and her companions attempt to escape their fate and sunder themselves from God. However, they merely delay the inevitable. There could also be the observation of current pagan practices such as the gloss noting the strangulation of Abel.

There are Initial Events within the Biblical section that emphasize correlations between Christianity and LGÉ culture, such as occupations that appear within the Irish Law Tracts. Another correlation is the kin-slaying of Abel, which is

doubly emphasized by being distinguished as an Initial Event and is incorrectly associated with the Flood as a punishment for Cain's action.

The final note on the Biblical section for now is that the errors within LGÉ could be there for several different reasons. The most notable are: the compilers were not as educated in Christianity as we have previously thought; the version of the Bible they possessed was a corrupt version; or that the errors were deliberate either so as not to "contaminate" the Biblical Word of God by proximity to known pagan ideas, or to signal to their peers that LGÉ is a work of fiction.

Within the *Contention for Scythia* we are presented with Kin-slaying again. However, as defined within the Law Tracts, those involved within the Contention were not within the kin-group defined for the kingship. Yet, within the text, they are defined as kinsmen. Here, we may have been seeing a conflict between the ideal way of life in which kin-murders are punished severely, and the actual way of life in Ireland where kin-murders for the throne are seldom punished. Another observation concerning this section is the touting of the ideal that accepting one's fate, no matter how unjust, will lead to a reward, which has obvious Christian overtones. A last possibility is that it is an attempt to have the trials of the Gáedel mimic the trials of the Israelites in order to demonstrate the Divine Plan in action.

We have seen that the *Seduction of Topa and Jealousy of Partholón* is primarily a Place Name episode. However, this short segment contains the concepts of honour as well as female wantonness and uncontrollable nature. There is also evidence that the motif of the killing of lap-dogs being associated with Place Names is common within Irish Tradition. Finally, the jealousy of Partholón can be seen as reinforcing monogamy within a previously polygamous social climate.

When discussing the individual Indicators, we have seen within the invasions of Nemed and Cessair that greed brings about death. This is demonstrated as being true for those who seek both worldly goods, in the form of the golden tower, and the satisfaction of carnal desires, as within the death of Ladru. Kin-slaying has been discussed above but it is typically not punished by droughts or portends of poor reigns as one would expect for the crime. Even though there are no extraordinary punishments for most of these Kin-slayings, time and time again we see Vengeance Slayings as retribution for the different Kin-slayings. The most notable occasion where a Kin-slaying is punished in accordance with the "King's Truth", as when Partholón's invasion force dies of plague. In contrast, Lug's kin-slaying is unpunished, possibly denoting that his case against his victim was justifiable.

When turning our attention to Incest, we see that many different cultures have Incest Episodes that demonstrate the purity of the ruling dynasties: father-daughter Incest occurs twice. One case is in the creation of the Gods of the Túatha Dé Danann, Brían, Iucharba and Iuchair. The other episode is the birth story of Fíacha Fer-Marr, who becomes a successful king. Fíacha's episode bears a marked similarity to the birth of Moses and could also possibly represent an example of the ancestor worship tale.

There is a brief mention of Odba and Éremóin (both children of Míl) having relations with each other, but the story line is not developed. This statement could have been the remains of an earlier ancestor worship tale. Brother-sister incest often represents an image of maintaining purity of the lineage. The final Incest Episode involves two acts of incest: the first involves three brothers and their sister. This act produces Lugaid Riab nDerg who rules successfully as king, yet is the only person within LGÉ to commit suicide. In the second, Lugaid commits incest with his sister/mother and begets a son, Crimthann. Crimthann is said to have adventures within the síd but dies

shortly after leaving it. This is the only negative incest tale within LGÉ.

The Wife-Trading of Tailtiu could signify that she is a sovereignty goddess. This can be seen when taking into account her association with the hill of Tara combined with the timing of her transfer from the Fir Bolg to the Túatha Dé Danann, which occurs after the defeat of the Fir Bolg. The other episode of Wife Trading is when the Picts ask Éremóin for wives. This is said to be the basis for the believed matrilineal descent within the Pictish tribes. It could also serve the more practical purpose of avoidance of incest within the population.

Shipwrecks, Floods and Plagues appear to be of a cleansing nature. They are a method of eliminating large populations quickly and in a manner that was of a very real threat to the society. The only major flood that occurs within LGÉ is the Biblical Flood, although we see an episode involving drowning within the invasion of Nemed. When considering Shipwrecks, the only addition to their cleansing nature is the possible intervention of Ireland on behalf of the Túatha Dé Danann when Donn is washed overboard, and the Place Naming aspect. In addition, plagues and unknown illness are an expedient method for the authors of LGÉ to have progressed through the lineages when inscribing *The Roll of the Kings*.

Oppressions are another reflection of the social climate of the time period in which the compilers of LGÉ were working. Again we see the motif of the King's Truth, and within the invasion of Nemed this is particularly evident. Possible reflection back to the Biblical Oppressions also exists. When examining the *Caith Maige Tuired* we see that it appears to have two different strands, the *Caith Maige Tuired* as an independent tale and the version within LGÉ. Alternatively, the mere mention of the battle was enough to remind the reader of the oppression of the Túatha Dé Danann.

As has been previously stated, Initial Episodes typically set precedents within the society or are paradigms for behaviour. Initial Landings and Deaths are associated with Place Name Lore. Banba's landing could also be a residual element of her sovereignty myth. Initial Episodes also show the development of the Irish and LGÉ culture, these being concerned with basic needs and fundamental desires within the invasion of Partholón. The Fir Bolg add the legal sense of justice to the culture. The Túatha Dé Danann add games and leisure activities. The Meic Míled, being nearer in historical era to the compilers of LGÉ develop poetry. Within *The Roll of the Kings* we see the trappings of vanity in the form of personal adornment appearing.

Section 4: The Supernatural, Miraculous and Otherworldly

A theory that has long been believed is that the Christian literati would attempt to Christianize or at least de-mystify the tales that they were inscribing.

However, in the previous section we have hypothesized that within LGÉ, a gradual development of the society is seen, beginning with the earlier pagan invasions and culminating with LGÉ society. Therefore, the compilers may have wished for some sections of LGÉ to appear more pagan than others, desiring this even to the extent that they added additional pagan elements. Nonetheless, if it was indeed their intention to eliminate all the pagan aspects from the Literary Tradition of the converted Irish society (at least within LGÉ) it becomes evident that they failed. If, however, they were moving more towards a gradual conversion of the people, then, in light of the current day, it should be considered a success.

As seen within *Chapter One, Section 2*, a possible basis for the invasions were pre-Christian tales that had clearly pagan traits in the form of supernatural dealings. Yet, even in the Christian era (after the mission of Patrick c.460 A.D.) there are supernatural occurrences attributed to saints and holy men. Indeed, the Bible itself contains many supernatural events. This implies that fantastic occurrences were not considered inherently evil by our compilers; rather, these events were merely the bailiwick of wise men, Saints and God.

The invasion with the most obvious supernatural overtones is the Túatha Dé Danann. This is only natural, as we recognize that the Túatha Dé Danann were in fact the gods of the Irish. Here I have stated they are specifically Irish gods because only Brigit and Lug appear recognizable outside of the insular context in name and function (Green 1995: 783). The obvious pagan trappings of the Túatha Dé Danann, while not comfortable to the compilers, as shown by the conflict of their origins as seen within the text (discussed at length below), were grudgingly accepted. Whilst the post-Christian kings have none of the

pagan mysticism of their ancestors, all the various invasions of Ireland, except the Fir Bolg, possess an explainable use of magic. To expand on this, the post-Christian supernatural occurrences are performed by Saints or holy men. However, these men act as a medium through which the power of God is focused, not by their personal power alone.

Like the development of societal traits, there is a progression within LGÉ away from overt pagan symbols such as the oracle used by Cessair, towards and including acts that are more akin to the miracles performed by Saints, up to actual miracles. This creates not an a elimination of the supernatural, but simply a different manner in viewing it. It could also be a way to undermine pagan practices by demonstrating that the Christian Saints could perform the same feats as the *flidh*. Alternatively, it may be a method of identifying the pagan past and accepting it, but providing an affirmation that this was the past, and now Ireland should be Christian. This is quite an effective method of conversion; allowing, if perhaps not excusing the past. rather than damning the population for the sins of their ancestors.

Within this section, events, objects and individuals that have qualities or overtones of the supernatural will be discussed. These include: druids; people with abnormalities; rituals; magical weapons, items, days; prophecies; and other fantastical phenomena. They will be discussed by invasion, and where the volume of material requires, divided further under subheadings. First, however, we will begin by discussing the Fomoraige, as they are not given an actual invasion sequence within the text.

Fomoraige:

The Fomoraige are not ever counted as having made a proper invasion within LGÉ. We first encounter them within the invasion of Partholón, where they are considered the 'Seven-Taking'. Yet, in no manner can they be considered

the 7th invasion. At first they appear within all three recensions as deformed individuals with single limbs. Recensions 2 and 3 inform us that: 'Fifty men and thrice fifty women was the tally of every ship of theirs,...' (Macalister 1987: 15). This means that the women outnumber the men three to one, almost an inversion of the invasion of Cessair, and opposing what would be perceived as "normal" within a fighting force (ie. that men should be the larger, if not the entirety of the task force).

Within Recension 1 we are only told that Partholón won a battle against the Fomoraige (Macalister 1996: 271). Within Recensions 2 and 3 we are told that the Fomoraige had been in Ireland for two hundred years before Partholón encounters them (Macalister 1987: 11-15). Recensions 2 and 3 also add that the battle fought is a magical battle where no one dies. This idea of a deathless battle corresponds to the perceived view of life within the *síd* and possibly the Celtic after-life. However, this is later contradicted as Partholón is said within two separate glosses, to have died of wounds from this battle several years after the fact (Macalister 1987: 15, 21). There is also no mention of the Fomoraige being driven out of Ireland.

Within Recension 1, shortly after the beginning of Nemed's invasion, we are told he defeated two of the Fomoraige kings in battle, and we are further told of the killing of the four Fomoraige brothers after the building of *Ráith Cindeich* (Macalister 1987: 121-23). Recensions 2 and 3 take more time but relate similar information. The building of the *ráith* occurs first and the number of battles has been changed from two to three (Macalister 1987: 133-35).

After Nemed's death all three recensions tell of the oppression of his followers at the hands of the Fomoraige. However, there is no mention of any form of physical abnormalities or magical battles within the Nemed invasion. The

only Otherworldly association is the collection of their tribute on Samain. This could have been for practical purposes, as Samain is just after the harvest season. Perhaps the compilers assumed that the reader would recall that the Fomoraige still have their physical blemishes without any reminder. However, if the two invasions originally developed separately, one would have thought there would have been repetition on this matter, unless, of course, the repetition was already edited out by the compilers.

As seen previously in *Chapter Two, Section 3*, the Nemedians revolt against the Fomoraige with heavy losses on both sides (Macalister 1987: 141). However, the Fomoraige have reinforcements which outnumber the Nemedians who then flee Ireland. The Fir Bolg do not encounter the Fomoraige and Macalister has suggested that they are the same group of people. The Túatha Dé Danann eventually defeat the Fomoraige at *Cath Maige Tuired*.

What is it about the Fomoraige? I have previously suggested that they serve the purpose of testing the different invasions of Ireland for their right to inhabit her. Within LGÉ there is a tension between the incoming invasion and the Fomoraige, except in the case of the Fir Bolg. The interesting point about that is that the Fir Bolg are the invasion the scholars have felt was a legitimate peopling of Ireland. If so, could the Fomoraige have been the gods of an earlier society than the Celts which the Fir Bolg represent? If this was the case when the Celts came to Ireland, the Túatha Dé Danann, as the deities of the Celts, would have needed to replace the Fomoraige. Then, when the compilers of LGÉ reformulated the mythology, the Túatha Dé Danann were turned into an invasion that had to be defeated by the Meic Miled in order to assist in the conversion process. This could account for the Fomoraige being the ultimate enemy. A logic much along this line could have been formulated: the Túatha Dé Danann were considered malevolent, therefore their predecessors had to have been worse.

More about the Fomoraige will be discussed within the other invasion sequences. The two points to recognize are that, primarily, they bring a tension in the invasions whereby the reader can identify with the invader, and the Fomoraige is the ever-present enemy. Secondly, they appear to act as a martial testing ground against possibly inappropriate invaders.

Cessair:

Cessair's invasion has already been discussed in *Section 3* of this Chapter. Here I will focus on the druids (Macalister 1996: 187)¹⁷⁴ of Cessair and the false god. Both of these are seen within Recension 2 (Macalister 1996: 191)¹⁷⁵. The false god is represented as the idol in Recension 3 (Macalister 1996: 203). In the case of Cessair's druids, Cessair appears to have given them a request to tell of a place where '... men had never come till then, where no evil nor sin had been committed, and which was free from the reptiles and monsters of the world,...' (Macalister 1996: 185-87). Her druids tell her that Ireland meets her requirements, whereupon Cessair voyages in search of Ireland.

Here, the druids are using a form of divination to tell Cessair the place that meets her requirements. It is not a prophecy, as all the druids actually do is tell her that the place she seeks exists. We are not told that they describe any other aspect of it, or even where it is. As previously demonstrated in this *Section 3*, prophecy and divination were commonplace within Celtic literature as well as within the life of the society. Even the Bible itself has a healthy dose of prophecy within it. As for the false god/idol (depending on the

¹⁷⁴Within the text the term Macalister translates as wizards is 'druidhi' (Macalister 1996: 186).

¹⁷⁵This version is printed in the type Macalister uses to indicate that it is an addition of some manner.

recension), neither of them could tell when the Flood was coming, only that it was going to occur at some point in the future, and they advised Cessair and her followers to build their own ark in order to flee it. This failure of the false god/idol, suggests this is either to be a post-Christian warning against following any deity but the Christian God, as the idol cannot predict skillfully enough to save its people, a "proto-prophecy", or even both.

Partholón:

As stated previously, it is in this invasion where the Fomoraige are first encountered under the leadership of Cichol nGreicenchos (Cichol Clapperleg). We are told in Recension 1, that the Fomoraige are men with single legs and arms, and that Partholón engages in battle against them for Ireland (Macalister 1996: 271). In Recension 2 we are told that in addition to single arms and legs, they also had single eyes. The battle is also elaborated upon. We are told that it was fought at *Mag Íitha*, that it lasted a week and that it was a magical battle in that '...not a man was slain there,...'. Recension 3 gives the same information as Recension 2 but feels the need to add '...to wit, demons with the forms of men.' to the description of the Fomoraige (Macalister 1987: 13). Recension 2 also adds an inconsistency when it claims within a gloss that Partholón's death was due to a mortal wound received at this battle from 'gory darts'. However it also states that he died some time after the battle (Macalister 1987: 15).

Recensions 2 and 3 further inform the reader that the Fomoraige had been living in Ireland for two hundred years before Partholón found them (Macalister 1987: 11, 15). It would be convenient to claim that the Fomoriage's abnormalities of possessing single limbs are correlated with supernatural ability. However, whether due to some form of intervention by the compilers or otherwise, this does not appear to be the case, as we will see within this sub-heading. Also, after this point within the text, the Fomoraige

are no longer described as possessing any abnormality.

Within Recensions 2 and 3, druids also appear in Partholón's invasion, as he is said to have three among his company; Táth (Eolus in Recension 3), Fis and Fochmarc ("Consolidation, Knowledge, and Enquiry") (Macalister 1987: 11, 27). The names we see have obvious meanings which are remarked upon by Macalister (Macalister 1987: 90-1) and the number three is a significant number within the Celtic culture (Green 1992: 214-16). This can be seen further in the numerous triple deities (Cunliffe 1997: 187) and even the so-called "triple death" (Green 1997: 81). Macalister points to another possible association between druids and Partholón, as he is said to have resided within the land where Cathbaid, the Ulster Cycle druid is supposed to have taken up residence (Macalister 1987: 39). This can also be seen as a linking of LGÉ to the rest of the Irish Literary Tradition.

Towards the end of Partholón's section (within Macalister's text), we encounter the shape-shifter, Túán mac Cairill. Shape-shifting was said to be among the abilities of the druids (Green 1997: 127) but in this case is done by the will of God (Macalister 1987: 23, 43). In Macalister's combined Recensions 2 and 3 it is only stated that Túán existed in many forms. Later, in Macalister's section entitled *Appendix to Partholón*, more detail is revealed. Here we learn that Túán spent one hundred years as a man, three hundred years as a wild ox, two hundred years as a wild stallion, three hundred years as a solitary bird, and a hundred years as a salmon. Furthermore, he was then caught, brought to the queen, eaten by her, and then conceived again. This idea of being eaten and later conceived exists in many different Irish and Welsh tales (eg. the story of Étaín). Alternatively, it could also be linked to a form of transmigration of souls.

All four of the shapes that Túán assumes were sacred to the Celts and, from a

practical aspect, were viewed as relatively long-lived. The ox was admired for its associations with agriculture and power (Green 1992: 51). The horse was revered for its connections to battle as well as its beauty, speed, sexual vigor and fertility (Green 1992: 120). Birds were revered in different ways depending on their species. However, they all represented a link between the air and the earth as well as the accepted knowledge that the deities (in this case the Túatha Dé Danann) favoured the bird form (Green 1992: 43). Finally, the salmon, which is best-known of all Celtic divine animals, revered for its wisdom and knowledge (Green 1992: 184-5).

This excerpt could demonstrate the transference of druidic powers to God's hands, yet the animal forms were sacred in the pagan era, demonstrating the melding of the two religions within the text. Another purpose behind Túán's existence is to relate the tales of the invasions to the modern clergy and literati (Macalister 1987: 43). According to Recension 2 within Cessair's invasion Fintán also served the purpose of relating the events of the previous invasions to later generations (Macalister 1996: 195). This also explains the gloss within Partholón's invasion explaining that Fintán was Túán (Macalister 1987: 23).

Nemed:

Partholón was not the only invasion that encounter the Fomoraige. As seen within *Section 3*, under the sub-heading of *Place Names and Oppressions*, and earlier within this section, Nemed also has encounters with them¹⁷⁶. In the invasion of Nemed there is no mention of an abnormal appearance to the Fomoraige. Within Recension 1, one of the literati has even gone as far as to add that they are 'sea rovers', perhaps with the implication of being raiders of

¹⁷⁶For the explanation of a possible ritual slaying within the process of the building of ráiths please see the *Place Names* sub-heading in *Section 2* of this Chapter.

some form (Macalister 1987: 123, 135)¹⁷⁷. The only possible hint of abnormality' is the excerpt of Morc meic Deiled's impassioned pre-battle speech, before they fight the Nemedians at the Tower of Conand. Here they are referred to as a '...sea-host...' (Macalister 1987: 155). But this could also be taken to mean they were raiders.

The only two aspects that we can see that could be considered as fantastic about the Fomoraige within the Nemed invasion is when they begin to tax the Nemedians. The tax was due every Samain and it was two-thirds of their corn, milk, and progeny (Macalister 1987: 125, 139). Samain is the modern Halloween, when it is custom in the present era for children and young adults to go guising.¹⁷⁸ This is a practice that entails the mock enforcement of given treats. Some of these treats were bread, butter, milk, and cream, which is very similar to the two-thirds corn and milk of Nemed. Travelers needed protection so as not to go "astray" on Samain night (Danaher 1972: 210-241). Could these abductions have been survivals of the Fomoraige claiming of the two-thirds progeny we see in LGÉ? Indeed, it is a common held belief that Halloween antics are based on pagan traditions. Another possible interpretation of the Samian tax is that it could be the compiler's vision of the pagan ritual, or indeed what they have actually witnessed. By this I mean a voluntary offering of the tribute either to a bonfire or source of water.

Before moving on, I would like to interject with a small amount of controversy to this theory. We must remember that our sources for the atmosphere surrounding this, the largest festival of the Celtic year, were the medieval Christian literati. What is undeterminable is if these individuals faithfully

¹⁷⁷See also Macalister's notes to this affect (Macalister 1987: 191).

¹⁷⁸This is the practice in the British Isles of dressing in costume and asking for treats. In the United States it is known as "trick-or-treating."

transmitting the pagan tradition of danger and sacrifice around Samain? Or did they create, or at least embroider upon the atmosphere in order to add emphasis to the rituals surrounding the festival¹⁷⁹, thus creating a seemingly negative air in an attempt to gain converts to a more rewarding (within the afterlife) or forgiving religion?

My personal views are that the above theory is inaccurate. We know from many different cultures that liminal periods, such as seasonal changes, are thought of as dangerous times for mortal beings. Yet, we must keep in mind our sources. Unfortunately, as a more thorough examination of this theory would involve research far beyond LGÉ and even other MSS material it is, likewise, far beyond the scope of this thesis. Modern scholars agree that the festival of Samain, with the information we have in our possession, was one that entailed sacrifice and had an air of danger for the unwary (Cunliffe 1997: 189; Green 1995: 435; Ross 120-21). My question is: was this in the pagan past or created by the Christian literati?

It is only at the end of the Nemed invasion that we hear of druidry, and then only in Recensions 2 and 3 relating to the Túatha Dé Danann. We learn that the descendants of Bethach mac Iarbaneóil Fátha meic Nemid '...went into the northern islands of the world to learn druidry and heathenism and devilish knowledge, so that they were an expert in every art, and they were afterwards the Tuatha De Danann.' (Macalister 1987: 151). A similar statement in a further gloss reads: '...therein they learned prophecy and druidry and magic and knowledge of every poetic art that was in the world.' (Macalister 1987: 157). When looking at Irish Tradition in general "northern islands" typically allude to some sort of mystical or fantastic abilities (cf. the Island of Sky

¹⁷⁹We know that sacrifices were performed within Celtic society through the Classical Writers. However it is not certain if the festival of Samian was sacrificial in nature.

where Cú Chulainn learned his battle feats and obtained the Gae Bolge).

Túatha Dé Danann- Within Nemed Section:

This sub-heading concerns itself with the dealings of the Túatha Dé Danann that exist within the Section of Nemed in Macalister's text.

Origins:

The first time we meet the Túatha Dé Danann, is within the glosses at the end of the Nemed invasion section. Here we are told that the Túatha Dé Danann, still known as the seed of Bethach, went east '...to seek the maiden...' We are also told, in the same paragraph, that they captured her and made a great feast and stayed there '...for a long time.' When they returned to Ireland they came '...without ships or vessels, and lighted upon Conmaicne Rein in Connachta.' (Macalister 1987: 155). To this Macalister's notes add little illumination (Macalister 1987: 198-99). Perhaps this could have been a reference to some form of Wife Trading or a quest for an individual spouse. Alternatively, perhaps "Wisdom" was personified as a woman¹⁸⁰ and this is the maiden the gloss speaks of.

Friend or Foe?:

In the paragraph (#286), directly after the above material, the Túatha Dé Danann are branded as demons who were expelled from Heaven with Lucifer. This same paragraph gives them the powers to '...go in currents of wind. They go under seas, they go in wolf-shapes, and they go to fools and they go to the powerful.' (Macalister 1987: 155). This is an obvious attempt to malign the Túatha Dé Danann. As opposed to being represented as deities, they are associated with Lucifer which could possibly curtail some of the newly converted Christians from any of the practices associated with the Túatha Dé

¹⁸⁰ Compare to Athena and Minvera as the virgin goddesses representing wisdom.

Danann (eg. leaving milk out on the stoop at night and other fairy lore).

It is interesting to note that the powers of controlling natural phenomenon and shape-shifting, as we have seen above as druidic powers, are attributed to the Túatha Dé Danann. The only point of discord is that the wolf, far from being a sacred animal, people were even loathed to call it by name, although one wonders if this is a later development, as it is a wolf that is identified as one of the animals accompanying the god Cernunnos on the Gundestrup cauldron (Ross 1986: 126)¹⁸¹. In the next paragraph (#269), the Túatha Dé Danann are said to be poets sailing the seas together without vessels. Here they are also called prophets of kings and clans (Macalister 1987:155). So, in this gloss perhaps the intent was to show the Túatha Dé Danann as teachers of druidism, as far as it was knowledge and prophecy, without the religious connotations.

Túatha De Danann:

This sub-heading concerns itself with the Túatha Dé Danann under their own section of Macalister's text.

Origins:

Recensions 1, 3 and the Miniugud tell of the Túatha Dé Danann's descent from Bethach as seen within the Nemed section (Macalister 1987²: 165, 167). Not only that, but it is again shown that they were in '...the northern islands of the world, learning druidry and knowledge and prophecy and magic, till they were expert in the arts of pagan cunning.' (Macalister 1987²: 107, 167). Again, the Túatha Dé Danann are said to have reached Ireland without ships from the northern islands. In an ominous sign of their arrival, dark clouds or a darkness covering the sun is said to have been used to hide their coming. (Macalister 1987²: 109, 143, 171).

¹⁸¹One can also find more about wolf associations in McCone 1984: 13 ff.)

Friend or Foe?:

Within the section of Macalister's text that is entitled *Túatha Dé Danann*, there is still a controversy about their nature. This indecisiveness, as seen above, is not only between the different recensions. All three recensions and the Miniugud claim the *Túatha Dé Danann* were said to have been demons (Macalister 1987²: 135, 165, 201). Recensions 2 and 3 introduce the possibility that the *Túatha Dé Danann* are from the *síð*. Below is an excerpt from Recension 3 that demonstrates this conflict:

Ocus ciatberaid araile gomdis demna Tuatha De Danann, ar thiachtain in nErinn gan airigudh, [agus] adubradar fein is a nellaibh dorchaidhi thangadar, [agus] ar imad a f[h]easa [agus] a n-eolais [agus] ar doilghe a ngeinealaigh do breadh iar cul; acht cheana ro f[h]oglaimead eolas [agus] filidhecht. Ar gach ndiamair n-dana [agus] gach amaindsi eladhna fuil an Erinn, is o Tuatha De Danann ata a bhunadh' [agus] ge thainig creideamh an Erinn, ni ro dichuirthea na dana sin, daigh at mhaithe iad. Ocus is follus nach do deamhnaib na dho sidhaibh doibh, ar ro f[h]eadar cach gur gabhsad cuirp daenna umpu ‡ olo dinas firu || [agus] airimhthear in geinelach for culu [agus] do raebadar la tiachtain credme.

And though some say that the Tuatha De Danann were demons, as they came into Ireland unperceived, and they themselves said that they came in dark clouds, and for the greatness of their learning and their knowledge, and the obscurity of their genealogy being traced backward; howbeit they learned knowledge and poetry. For every darkness of art and every clearness of reading and every craft of cunning that is in Ireland, they are of the Tuatha De Danann by origin, and though the Faith came into Ireland those arts were not abolished, for they are good. And it is clear that they are not of the demons or of the *síð*-folk, for everyone knew that they took human bodies about them [by day, indeed, which is more accurate] and their genealogy is reckoned backward, and they were destroyed at the coming of the Faith. (Macalister 1987²: 201-03)

This internal conflict is also seen in Recension 1 and the Miniugud within MS F. We read: 'Their origin is uncertain, whether they were of demons or of men;..' (Macalister 1987²: 107).

These conflicting or at least indecisive accounts could reflect the time periods in which the individual recensions and MSS were written. There are two possibilities that I will discuss: the first is that the versions equating the Túatha Dé Danann with demons existed within the early medieval period and the less damning version came about at a later date. My reasoning is that the demonic nature of the Túatha Dé Danann was earlier because the clergy (including our compilers) would try to put down the pagan gods so there would be no direct comparison between them and the Christian God. Making the Túatha Dé Danann demons gives them a negative image that may have allowed for more conversions. With the passage of a few generations this negative image could be set within the tradition. Later, the literati may have felt more at ease to ponder the nature of the Túatha Dé Danann aside from their evil image, once Christianity was firmly entrenched. The second possibility is the reverse of the above: the more open-minded, inquiring versions may have appeared early in the Christian era, with the more damning appearing with the reformation of the Church and such movements as the Céile Dé reform. My opinion on the matter is that the first theory is correct.

Túatha Dé Danann as Pertaining to Nuadu's Arm:

As previously stated under the sub-heading of *Oppressions*, the king of the Túatha Dé Danann, Nuadu Airgeadlámh (Silver-arm), loses his arm in the first *Cath Maige Tuired*. He is then given an arm made of silver that is jointed for movement and connected to his true flesh. Three craftsmen of the Túatha Dé Danann work to restore Nuadu's arm, Dian Cécht, his son Miach, and Credhne (Macalister 1987²: 115, 149, 177). Of these three it is Miach who appears to reattach Nuadu's original arm. The following is an excerpt from Recension 3:

Dian Cecht in liaigh ro choraig, [agus] Credhne in ceard i
cungnam leis mon laim airgid sim. Do rat umorro Miach mac
Dian Cecht alt fria halt [agus] feith fria feith da laimh fein air
[agus] hicaid fria tri nomhaidhe,...

Dian Cecht the leech adjusted it, and Credne the wright was
helping him in the matter of the silver arm. But Miach s. Dian
Cecht set joint to its joint and vein to its vein in his own arm,
and it was healed in thrice nine days; (Macalister 1987²: 176-77)

The Miniugud has no mention of Miach, and he only appears in a gloss to
Recension 1 (Macalister 1987²: 115). It is also in a gloss of MS L, it is Miach
alone who is given the credit of healing Nuadu (Macalister 1987²: 183).

The Gods and Druids of the Túatha Dé Danann:

As we saw in *Section 3*, under the sub-heading of *Incest*, the three gods of the
Túatha Dé Danann, Brían, Iuchar, and Iucharba, were created through incest
between Tuirill Biccreeo (also known as Delbaeth) and his daughter Danann
(Macalister 1987²: 129, 157, 193)¹⁸². In Recension 2 Brían, Iuchar, and
Iucharba are called the three druids of the Túatha Dé Danann (Macalister
1987²: 153). This also occurs in Recension 3, with the further confusion of
the sons of Bress; Brian, Cet and Triall, named as gods of the Túatha Dé
Danann (Macalister 1987²: 199). In Recension 1 and the Miniugud, there is
only the confusion with the listing of the two sets of names as gods of the
Túatha Dé Danann, as neither set of names are noted as their druids
(Macalister 1987²: 135).

¹⁸²This name is spelled "Danand" within Macalister's translation.

A second group of gods appears in a different manner within LGÉ. The sons of Cermait mac Dagda; Cethur Mac Gréne, Sethor Mac Cuill, and Tethor Mac Cécht are said to be gods whose names are associated with natural elements (Macalister 1987²: 131, 153, 195). The three are usually referred to within the text as Mac Gréne, Mac Cuill, and Mac Cécht. All three are said to have been kings of Ireland and married to women whose names are Fódla, Ériu and Banba respectively. The names of these women are, as we have seen, the various names for Ireland. We will later encounter these three women demanding the Meic Míled to name Ireland after them. This could be the remaining vestiges of their sovereignty tale.

According to the text, Mac Gréne '...has the sun as his god,' Mac Cuill's god is hazel, and Mac Cecht's god is the ploughshare (Macalister 1987²: 131, 153, 195). All of these are agricultural items of significance within the society. These deities are consistent throughout the different versions except in MS BB, where Mac Gréne has the earth as his god, Mac Cuill we are told has the sea and Mac Cecht has the air with the luminaries, sun and moon as his god¹⁸³. Another item relating to the gods that all versions agree upon, is the statement that their gods were men of art and their husbandmen were non-gods (Macalister 1987²: 111, 135, 199).

Besides Brían, Iuchar and Iucharba as druids of the Túatha Dé Danann, Recension 1 and the Miniugud tell us that Eolas, Fis and Fochmarc are also druids (Macalister 1987²: 135). Previously, we have seen these suggestive names within the invasion of Partholón for his druids ("Consolidation, Knowledge, and Enquiry"). There is also mention of Math mac Úmóir as the druid among the Túatha Dé Danann (Macalister 1987²: 123, 133, 161, 193,

¹⁸³This could be a misreading of the MS that MS BB was copied from, or perhaps placing the elements within the deities names in opposition with the nature element they are associated with.

197). This is a point of interest because "mac Úmóir" is typically seen among the Fir Bolg.

Supernatural Objects, Festivals, and Places:

The Túatha Dé Danann are said to have learned their arts in four cities. From each of these cities they brought away a magical object. From Goirias they took the Spear of Lug, which made its bearer or his army invincible (Macalister 1987²: 107, 143-45, 169). From Finnias came the Sword of Nuadu, once it was drawn on a person there would be no escape (Macalister 1987²: 107, 143-45, 169). The bottomless Cauldron of the Dagda was from Muirias, and The Stone of Fail (Stone of Truth) was from Failias and it would cry out under the rightful king (Macalister 1987²: 107, 143-45, 169).

There are two different stories within LGÉ as to why the Lia Fail no longer has its power and one of them extends to the other idols of Ireland. The first is the smiting of the Lia Fail by Cú Chulainn when it did not cry out for him or his fosterling (Macalister 1987²: 113, 145, 175). This smiting stopped the Lia Fail from crying out except for Conn of Temair. The alternative tales tells that it was the birth of Christ that destroyed all the idols in Ireland (Macalister 1987²: 113, 145, 175)

The only other entities that possess magical attributes within this section are some of the payments Lug demands for the death of his father (Macalister 1987²: 137). These are: magical horses which are immune to wounds, waves and lighting; a second type of magical spear that always casts true; a skin of a pig with healing properties; the six pigs of Essach that can be slaughtered many times, yet reappear the next day; a magical hound that is a hound at night and a sheep by day, that had the additional power of turning water into wine. This second power of this hound is quite Biblical in appearance. These items and the above need little commentary. The benefits of these items to the

society are obvious whether that society was medieval, pagan or even, indeed, modern.

Another episode that exists in all the versions of Macalister's LGÉ is the creation of the games in honour of Tailltiu (seen above in *Place Names*), near the festival known in the pagan calendar as Lughnasa (Macalister 1987²: 117-19, 149, 179). After Tailltiu died 'games were made every year by Lug a fortnight before Lughnasad and a fortnight after Lughnasad.' (Macalister 1987²: 117-119). The episode, as it is presented, appears to be an attempt by the compilers of LGÉ to shift the focus of the festival from Lug, whose festival the name commemorates, to Tailltiu. Alternatively, it could have been a distortion or rewording of the original tale. However, it is most likely the remains of the origin tale of the festival itself.

The final item within this sub-heading addresses the exploration of a mound by Oengus, Aed and Cermat (Macalister 1987²: 157). As seen in *Section 3* under the sub-heading of *Initial Episodes*, these three were the first to explore a mound. They did so under a druidic spell known as a *feth fio* whereby they would become invisible and thereby had protection from the *síd*-folk, except on Samain. Macalister cynically states in his notes that the intention of these men is to plunder the burial mound (Macalister 1987²: 306-07). One of the most over-riding precedents of Celtic society through the ages is the respect for the sacred, seen first by the Classical Writers.

The idea that they would be plundering a grave mound, while it has been done in actuality, is perhaps not the best explanation. This is especially so when we consider the statements within the text that these three men are kings of the Túatha Dé Danann and eventually enshrined within a *síd* themselves. Also, their protection did not work on Samain, the one day any would be grave-robber or irritant of the powers-that-be would most desire not to be noticed. It

may have been the case, however, that the liminal powers at work on Samain were more potent than any druidical spell. Perhaps instead, we should look at this as a part of their kingly heroic biography. That is, the voyage to the other world to retrieve a sacred item to confirm their rightful kingship. This seems a more plausible theory than Macalister's profaning grave-robbers.

Craftsmen among the Túatha Dé Danann:

Below are listed the craftsmen of the Túatha Dé Danann. We find that these craftsmen have special status within the Irish law tracts¹⁸⁴. This could follow on the hypothesis that LGÉ, in some way, showing the development of the society as was discussed in *Chapter Two, Section 3*. Airmeadh, the daughter of Dian Cecht was given the title of *baindliaig* (she-leech) (Macalister 1987²: 123, 151, 183). Brigit, the daughter of Dagda,¹⁸⁵ and Etan, the daughter of Dian Cecht,¹⁸⁶ are called *banfhili* (poetess). Brigit is addressed as such in all three recensions and the Miniugud. Etan, however, is omitted from Recension 1. Three *cáinte* (satirists) are named within LGÉ; Bruidne,¹⁸⁷ Casmal,¹⁸⁸ and Crichinbel.¹⁸⁹ We have already seen Dian Cécht and Crédhne as a *liaidh* (leech) and *ceard* (wright) respectively, while looking at the story of Nuadu's arm. Added to these are Luchen¹⁹⁰ the *saer* (carpenter) and Goibniu¹⁹¹ the

¹⁸⁴she-leech or female physician (Kelly 1991: 77)
poetess and poet (ibid. 1991: 43-49)
wright and carpenter (ibid. 1991: 61-62)

satirist (ibid.1991: 43-44)
leech (ibid. 1991: 57-59)
smith (ibid. 1991: 62-63)

¹⁸⁵Macalister 1987²: 133, 159, 197

¹⁸⁶Macalister 1987²: 123, 151, 183

¹⁸⁷Macalister 1987²: 123, 151, 183

¹⁸⁸Macalister 1987²: 123, 151, 183

¹⁸⁹Macalister 1987²: 123, 151, 183

¹⁹⁰Macalister 1987²: 123, 183

gabha (smith). Cairbre mac Etaine (or paternally, mac Ogma) is said to be the *fili* (poet) (Macalister 1987²: 151, 183) but, as with his mother, we only see him in Recensions 2 and 3.

Meic Míled, pre-Ireland:

Druids also appear within the Meic Míled invasion. The first mention of a druid within the Meic Míled occurs within Recension 1 and the Miniugud, when the Gáedel were on the Caspian Sea. Caicher is said not only to be a druid, but also one of the chieftains of the Gáedel during their wanderings (Macalister 1996: 19). In Recensions 2 and 3, a total of three among the Meic Míled are said to have learned druidry in Egypt. The two additional others are Mantan and Fulman (Macalister 1996: 41, 69). However, Caicher is the only one to perform any druidic feats. It might have been that the others were mentioned with the sole intention of achieving the sacred number of three, or their feats have been lost to us.

The first druidic feat performed by Caicher occurs in all three recensions; this is the saving of the Gáedel from the Siren's song by putting wax in their ears (Macalister 1996: 21, 43, 75). In one gloss within Recension 3, Caicher is said to have rescued the followers of Míl but not to have been the person to have put 'molten pitch' in their ears (Macalister 1996: 71). A small mention about the crooning of the Sirens: in many different Celtic tales we hear of similar music or singing from Otherworld entities putting to sleep all those within their hearing. Therefore, the Siren myth fits in quite well with the existing Celtic myths. It has the additional benefit of the Siren myth originating in the area where the Gáedel were set upon¹⁹².

¹⁹¹Macalister 1987²: 123, 183

¹⁹² Here I refer the reader to Barbara Hillers' Ph.D. thesis to demonstrate that this was not a borrowing from the Odyssey; 'The author of the *Lebor Gabála* seems to be utilizing

The next feat only occurs in Recensions 1 and 3. This is the feat of "speaking" to the wind to drive them onwards (Macalister 1996: 21, 75). We learn from Classical Writers and later Irish tradition that controlling the natural phenomena were also powers attributed to the druids (Green 1995: 423). The final druidic feat is that of prophecy. Within Recensions 1, 3 and the Miniugud, Caicher tells the Gáedel of Ireland when they are at the Rhipaeen Mountain but cautions them that not themselves, but their descendants will reach it (Macalister 1996: 21-3, 71).

The Christian overtone of telling of a promised land near a mountain is blatant, and could be planted "evidence" for the Divine Plan appearing in pre-Christian traditions, or the idea of God's chosen mimicking, imperfectly, Biblical events before the coming of Christianity. Another possibility is that it is a subtle Biblical element reinforcing the conversion of the Gáedel. In Recension 2 there is also a prophecy, but we are not told by whom, only that Míl did not leave Egypt because he was afraid of Alexander the Great. The text reads: '[by no means from fear, but because his druids had promised to obtain kingship and territory for him.]' (Macalister 1996: 41). This prophecy then, is the reason for the exodus of the Gáidel from Egypt.

Meic Míled in Ireland:

We discovered in *Section 3, Initial Episodes*, that either Íth mac Breogan or one of his followers was the first of the Meic Míled to die in Ireland. Within Macalister's Section of *The Sons of Míl*, all three recensions tell that demons slew Íth's follower (Macalister 1995: 19). When the Meic Míled attempt to land upon Ireland for the first time, demons are said to keep them away in this method: 'the demons would frame that the port was, as it were, a hog's back;' (Macalister 1995: 31). A version of this is also within all three recensions

an Irish form of the Siren motif.' (Hillers 1997: 107).

(Macalister 1995: 31, 51, 71, 73).

The above material has only implied that the demons in question are the Túatha Dé Danann, but in the battle at *Sliab Mis* it is made clear that this is so: '...the Sons of Míl broke the battle of Sliab Mis against demons and the Fomoraig, that is, against the Túatha Dé Danann.' (Macalister 1995: 33). Again this is true for all three recensions (Macalister 1995: 59, 75). The equation of the Túatha Dé Danann with demons and their alliance with the Fomoraige is most likely evidence to reinforce the perceived negative elements of the Túatha Dé Danann. Especially as the Túatha Dé Danann, in the guise of demons, are keeping Ireland from her rightful inhabitants.

The Battle for Ireland:

The Meic Míled fight the Túatha Dé Danann for Ireland at *Sliab Mis*. Recensions 1 and 3 claim that the Túatha Dé Danann summoned '...monsters in shapes of giants...' (Macalister 1995: 35, 75). In Recension 2 we see them battling '...demons and giants...' (Macalister 1995: 59). Another battle the Meic Míled face on *Sliab Mis* is the not-so-warm welcome of Banba when she meets them with her magical hosts that are of sods of earth with the appearance of men. It is said the Meic Míled druids and poets '...sang songs against them, so that they saw that they were only sods of peat and of the mountain.' (Macalister 1995: 37, 53- ¶414, 79). This summoning of monsters and the use of trickery shows the Túatha Dé Danann as a dishonest and dishonourable enemy, as it appears that the Meic Míled do not have their own magic to counter that of the Túatha Dé Danann. It could also be looked upon as a test for the Meic Míled to see if they truly deserved Ireland.

Prophecies in Ireland:

Another version of the Meic Míled meeting with the sovereign of Ireland, Ériu, is more amicable in nature. She welcomes them and tells them that the

soothsayers had prophesied about their coming (Macalister 1995: 35, 53, 77). Ériu adds in Recensions 2 and 3 that Donn, because of his remarks, will not profit in Ireland (Macalister 1995: 55, 79). Indeed, it is Donn's ship that is later swamped, drowning all aboard (Macalister 1995: 57, 81). In Recensions 1 and 3 it is the Meic Míled who are hostile when Banba tells them she is older than Noah and was on Ireland before and through the Flood. Upon learning this the Meic Míled '...sing spells against her, and drive her away from them..' (Macalister: 35, 77). This could be a subtle sign of the Meic Míled coming closer to the Christian God than their predecessors. The Flood was meant to cleanse the earth, Banba, therefore is unclean and the Meic Míled, appearing to perceive this, drive her from them.

The Final Contention Against the Túatha Dé Danann:

In the final attempt to stop the Meic Míled from having Ireland the Túatha Dé Danann managed to make the Meic Míled agree to leave Ireland and sail out beyond the "ninth wave" and then return again (Macalister 1995: 37, 55, 81). After the Meic Míled leave, the druids of the Túatha Dé Danann cast spells to stop them from returning. One of the spells we see used is the *gáeth druad* ('wizards wind' within Macalister) seen in all recensions (Macalister 1995: 39, 5, 79-81). In Recensions 2 and 3 '...the bottom of the sea was raised to the surface, so great was the storm against them,...' (Macalister 1995: 55, 81). It is Aimirgin Glúingil who calms the winds, showing druidic abilities on the part of the Meic Míled (Macalister 1995: 39, 57, 81). This demonstrates the acceptability of magic being used to fight magic. Another feat of Aimirgin's is conjuring fish into the streams of Ireland, found only in Recension 3 (Macalister 1995: 75). Again, these passages demonstrate the control of the wind. There is little doubt that weather control would have been a much sought after skill in an agricultural society, as it meant the ability to control crop-growing conditions.

The Roll of the Pre-Christian Kings:

Supernatural Deaths:

These are deaths that, within the text, are said to have been caused by supernatural or miraculous means. Alternatively they are associated with unusual circumstances, for instance dying on a pagan festival, as in the case of Tigernmas mac Ollaig. Tigernmas is said to have died with three-fourths of his men on Samain while worshipping the pagan god Crom Cruaich (Macalister 1995: 203-05)¹⁹³. This mass death was probably placed here as propaganda by the Christian literati. According to the internal events of Tigernmas' reign, it was one of prosperity. The compilers may have wished to show that even the best of kings should follow Christianity and the subsequent dangers of worshipping false idols. It could also be a reflection of the backsliding of the Israelites, again to mimic the Biblical story.

A hint of a belief or fear of the undead, probably in terms of vampirism rather than of zombies, appears when we read that an unknown disease killed king Slánoll mac Olloman. Later, when they exhumed his body his '...colour changed not, and his body decayed not.' , despite this having occurred forty or only a single year later, according to Recensions 1 or 3 respectively (Macalister 1995: 237). Yet, the element of "Slán" within his name cannot be overlooked as it suggests "whole" or "healthy". If there was at one time more to this tale to make a point of this element within Slánoll's name it has, unfortunately, been lost to us.

The other method of supernatural death is the curse of a holy man. Cormac hua Cuind is said to have died either from a salmon bone stuck in his throat or he was killed by phantoms after a curse from Máel-Cenn according to

¹⁹³This is the same deity who is seen being defeated by Saint Patrick in the Saint's lore.

Recensions 1 and 3 (Macalister 1995: 337-39). In Recension 3, Nathí is to have been struck down by lightning after Formenius had made an imprecation to God (Macalister 1995: 351)

Other Magical Phenomena:

We saw in *Section 3, Incest*, the adventures of Crimthann Nia Náir (Macalister 1995: 303-05). Here I will reiterate the possible element of going astray within the tale. Crimthann is the product of incest, as his father begat him through his mother/sister. Next we are told that Crimthann went with the fairy woman, Nár, and collected various treasures. Then we are told that he died a fortnight and a month after leaving the fairy mound. As he was only within the fairy mound for a short time, a fort-night over a month, the typical "going astray" motif does not appear to be the correct answer to Crimthann's short life. Therefore, either it is a distorted going astray episode or there is another reason for Crimthann's premature death. Possibly the answer lies within the incest as suggested above.

The only other miraculous event that occurs is within Recension 2, during the reign of Fiacho Find. All the cattle were white. White cattle are sacred animals to the pagan Celts and white animals in general, are often guides to the Otherworld in Celtic literature. Perhaps here we see the white cattle lending a display of harmony between the Otherworld and the real world, as Fiacho's father was given as his inheritance '...to preserve the truth (= legitimacy) of a prince.' (Macalister 1995: 325).

Roll of the Christian Kings:

Phenomenon of the Supernatural and Natural Worlds:

Within Recension 3, during the reign of Aed Findliath mac Neill Cailli, 'Showers of blood were poured so that it was found in gouts of gore.' and 'Loch Leibind was turned to blood, so that its gouts of gore were found like a

scum on the surface.' (Macalister 1995: 397-99). I have little doubt that the compilers included this event in order to cast negativity on Aed Findliath's reign for some reason unknown to us. A more explainable phenomenon of the moon 'turned to blood' or 'coloured like blood' happens in Aed Oirdnide's reign. The very factual statement of this occurrence, without the gruesome embroidery, implies that the compilers were aware that it was not as potent an event as the gore above. We see the moon turning to blood again in MS LL, during the reign of Finnachta Fledach as a portent, but there is no further elaboration (Macalister 1995: 383).

Slightly harder to explain are the two suns running together in one day. This occurs during the reign of Fland mac Máel-Sechlainn (Macalister 1995: 399). However, it would seem as if it were some form of solar eclipse. The two fiery columns which appear before Samain seem to be an unusual combination. As we have mentioned, Samain has strong connections with the pagan religion of Ireland (Macalister 1995: 401). The columns are comparable to the pillars that God used to lead the Israelites through the desert. A possible explanation is that the Christian literati meant this as an attempt to lead the pagans away from the Samain festival or used "illuminate", as in to cleanse and purify the world to see the Christian religion as the true faith, as opposed to the pagan religion. When we read of ships appearing in the air, it must be a flight of pure fantasy, even though there are similar reports within other annal sources (Macalister 1995: 393)¹⁹⁴.

Divine Intervention:

Even, or perhaps especially, during the Christian era one needed to tread carefully around the Saints. The king, Congal Cenn, in MS L is thought to be

¹⁹⁴ Dábhi Ó Cróinín addresses this event in his Introduction to *Early Medieval Ireland: 400-1200*. It is quite an unusual episode (Ó Cróinín 1995: 11).

a victim of a curse from the '...Saints of Laigin who cursed him for his hostility against Laigin.' He is said to have died in bed, the death elaborated upon further by the other recensions as having been caused by a stroke (Macalister 1995: 385). Domnall Brecc is said to have died of a plague while opposing Colum Cille (Macalister 1995: 379). Within MSS BB and L respectively, Saint Patrick takes a no-nonsense, direct approach when the king, Lugaid, refuses him. Lugaid was struck either by a '...fiery bolt from heaven..', or by a '...lightning stroke from heaven.' after refusing the Saint (Macalister 1995: 359-61). MS LL only tells us that Lugaid died from an unspecified '...miracle' of Patrick.' (Macalister 1995: 359). But not to be outdone, MS L includes the sterilization of the queens and dogs of Temair within Patrick's curse (Macalister 1995: 361). All of which show the consequences of interfering with saints and holy men by anyone, including the king. It also demonstrates the power of the Christian God, and places his holy men on par if not above the druids.

A possible episode of Divine Intervention is the drowning of Muirchertach mac Erca. He is said to have drowned in a vat of wine on Samain night (Macalister 1995: 361). MS L further elaborates that he was drowned after being burned (Macalister 1995: 363). This sounds more like a ritual death of a king rather than a murder. Perhaps, originally, this was an episode that included a three-fold death that has lost the third method of death. It could also serve, if the right tone was employed, to demonstrate that it may have been God who drowned the king in the midst of his pagan celebrations in retribution for not keeping the true faith.

Divine Intervention is not always negative. We see in the reign of Níall Frossach was born '...showers poured by the miracles of the King...' (Macalister 1995: 387). Here, King, in its capitalized form leaves no doubt that it is God, Macalister has interpreted the compilers as meaning. In this

case I feel that Macalister is accurate: these showers are elaborated upon a short while later in the text as '...a shower of white silver, a shower of wheat, and a shower of blood.' (Macalister 1995: 393). These showers demonstrate the divine approval of this king and perhaps are even meant as a form of prophecy; silver = wealth; wheat = agricultural prosperity, and blood = successful warfare. All in all, this demonstrated that Níall was considered a good king.

Conclusions to Section 4:

When looking at fantastic events within LGÉ it should be recognized that the supernatural is not considered inherently evil. The only "evil" supernatural force within LGÉ appear to be the Fomoraige. They are the constant oppressor within the text and wage war with all the post Flood invasions, except the Fir Bolg, until they are defeated.

There also appears to be a correlation between supernatural events that occur within the pagan era and Biblical supernatural events, or at least the powers wielded by both druids and saints are equated with each other. I feel that the main purpose of the supernatural within LGÉ is to ease the conversion process. The Celtic society is one that recognizes might. The Christian religion needs to show superiority over the pagan religion or, at the very least, equality to it.

Included within the text, there are several warnings against the worship of idols, and the folly of crossing Saints and holy men. Likewise, what appear to be imitations of Biblical themes appear, possibly in order to "demonstrate" the Divine Plan in the pagan lore. This was probably used as propaganda because it is likely that this "evidence" was planted by the compilers. Finally, the supernatural can be viewed to be developing alongside the society. Therefore, the same gradual "evolution" of the culture can be seen within the supernatural, fantastic and miraculous, as within the other Indicators chosen.

Section 5: Conclusions to Chapter Two

After an examination of the Indicators we are still no closer to identifying which culture the compilers most truly represent other than LGÉ culture itself. However, it is obvious that their interests lie predominantly with the Christian religion.

As seen within *Section 2*, Place Naming and Creation lore appears to have several functions within LGÉ. Sites are Named or Created by the ruling family or under their orders. The Naming, and subsequent re-naming, could be examples of Christianizing sites of political or religious significance within the Irish society. Additionally, sites could be created to lend an air of legitimacy to the additional sons of Míl. The attempt to make all of Ireland appear to be included within a national origin epic could also lead to sites being named from all parts of Ireland. We also find that elaborate place name lore exists within the earlier invasions and these names are primarily associated with population sites. Finally, the place name lore could be present to add an air of believability to LGÉ.

When looking at Behavioural Patterns within LGÉ we find that, within the Biblical section of the text, there is a very strong cause and effect feel to it. When an individual commits a crime or goes against God, he is punished. Biblical motifs are used to show correlations between the existing Irish society and the Christian religion, most notably when dealing with Kin-slaying. Initial Events within the Biblical section set precedents for their appearance within the Law Tracts as with the list of occupations or, like Place Names, add an air of believability to the text. The errors within the Biblical section could be from mis-learned lore, a corrupted version of the Bible, the desire not to contaminate the Biblical Word by proximity to pagan lore, or as a signpost to the learned that LGÉ is a work of fiction.

The emphases on Kin-slaying demonstrates its place within Irish society as one of the worst crimes of the society. Yet, when Kin-slaying for the kingship, it shows the reality of the murder seldom being punished, by the King's Truth. There is the acceptance of Vengeance Slaying, which would be historically accurate, as it is the kin-group's responsibility to punish the death of a family member.

When looking at Incest, we see that it is shown within the text as the creation of deities and kings. Additionally, the possibility for a pure dynasty exists when we see Éremóin and Odba, who are both children of Míl, having relations with each other. The two demonstrations of Greed, sexual and fiscal, both end in the deaths of those involved. Once again, this shows that a wrong-doing leads to punishment. Wife Trading contains two distinct types of episodes. The first, a possible sovereignty myth for Tailtiu, and the second the supposed establishment of Pictish matriliney.

Ship Wrecks, Floods, Plagues and Oppressions are all part of the society of the time the compilers were working. The first three Indicators listed also appear to have a cleansing nature to them. Plagues have the additional asset of being an expedient means of moving through the lineages. Oppressions also help to demonstrate the King's Truth, especially within the Nemed invasion. *Cath Maige Tuired* appears to have existed within two different types of tradition, or merely the mention of a battle between the Túatha Dé Danann was enough to remind the reader of the events that caused the battle.

Initial Episodes were used to set precedents or provide paradigms of behaviour for the society. Initial Landings and Deaths are part of the Place Naming and Creating Lore. The Landing of Banba could be part of her now-lost sovereignty myth. The Initial Episodes can also be seen to show the evolution of Irish and LGÉ cultures from the fundamental aspects to the ornamental and

vainglorious aspects we see from the La Tène burials, as well as the poetical traits of the literati themselves.

Finally, when looking at the Supernatural aspects of LGÉ, we need to recognize that the compilers did not view fantastical events as inherently evil. Rather, there is a transference of the Supernatural from the pagan aspects of the culture and an empowering of the Christian Saints and holy men instead of the druids. This was probably to ease the conversion of Ireland by demonstrating that the Saints were just as powerful, if not more powerful than the pagan deities and their representatives. Also, the role of the Fomoraige creates an "us versus them" tension within the text. Two other aspects of the Fomoraige are that they could have assumed the role of testers of worthiness for the invaders or perhaps have even been the deities of the Fir Bolg. The Supernatural, like the Initial Episodes, also demonstrates the evolution of the society away from its pagan roots towards an acceptance of Christian ideals.

Now we will cease with LGÉ for the time being and turn our attention to the Navajo material.

Chapter Three

Section 1: An Introduction to the Navajo

Within this Chapter, I will begin by briefly outlining the history and culture of the Navajo Nation. Then I will discuss the Navajo Origin Story, followed by an examination of the mythology in its own right. As previously discussed in *Chapter One, Section 1*, I chose the Navajo for two reasons. First, they have a suitably comparable cultural background to the Irish. Secondly, there is no possibility of the two having made contact with each other. I will also comment upon some superficial resemblances between the Celtic and Navajo mythologies that, due to the above reasons, must be merely coincidental.

First of all, it is necessary to provide a concise overview of the Navajo history and culture below. This is by no means an in-depth study, which would be (and has been) the domain of other scholars for some time. The study of the Navajo, like the study of the Celts has produced many volumes of sometimes contradictory information and interpretation. There are probably just as many books entitled "The Navajo" as there are "The Celts"! For further information, see the section within the *Bibliography* on the Navajo.

The Migration:

Approximately 3000 years ago (11th Century B.C.) people of the Nadene language group travelled across the Bering Straits to North America (Downs 1972: 5). The Nadene group split into the Tlingit, Haida and Athapaskan groups roughly 2000 years ago (Downs 1972: 6). The Athapaskan group continued to divide further as they migrated south. 1300-1000 years ago the Apachean group formed (Downs 1972: 7). The Navajo are a subgroup split off from this Apachean group.

According to Kluckhohn, the Navajo arrived in the American Southwest as early as 1000 A.D. (Kluckhohn 1962: 33). A with a second hypothesized, arrival dated is approximately 1525 A.D. (as cited from D.A. Gunnerson 1956 in by David Brugge (Ortiz 1983: 489)). There are varying hypotheses surrounding the route that the migration followed (Ortiz 1983: 489, Downs 1972: 7). It is thought that the migration was essentially an expansion in search of food sources, and not a planned approach towards a desired destination (Ortiz 1983: 489). When the Navajo started to settle, they moved into an area that had a pre-existing cultural background, which included the resident agricultural societies of the Pueblo, Keresian, Zuni and Hopi (Downs 1972: 7). Of these groups, it is the Pueblo and Hopi that had the most substantial impact on Navajo culture.

History, Pre-Migration:

To begin with, the Navajo are a matrilineal, clan based society. As seen from above, they were a subgroup of the Apachean group of Native Americans (Ortiz 1983: 388). Originally, they were a nomadic hunting-gathering society who added agriculture and domestication of some animals upon contact with the Pueblo. However, before the migration that saw the Navajo settle in the American Southwest, the society consisted of a loose band organization dependant upon hunting, fishing and gathering for sustenance (Downs 1972: 8, Ortiz 1983: 490). There is little evidence for early agriculture, but the possibility exists that the Navajo raided existing agricultural groups both during and after their migration (Downs 1972: 7).

The system used to determine kinship and clan associations is thought to have been bi-lateral (Ortiz 1983: 490). However, the system of inheritance that was in place when contact was made by the Europeans, was matrilinear. There are certain indications that the earlier system utilized by the Navajo may also have been matrilinear inheritance, with a matrilocal settlement, which may have

been brought with the immigrants from Asia (Downs 1972: 8). Clan authority was based on merit. When specialized tasks were performed by a group, group leadership only lasted as long as it took to complete the task.

The technology utilized by the predecessors of the Navajo, and later by the Navajo after splitting off from the Apachean group, included bows, single piece arrows with side notched projectile points. Harpoons were also used for hunting. Their clothing was made from skins and often decorated with porcupine quills. Dwellings were varied in structure but, for the most part, were non-permanent. Evidence exists for basket weaving but not pottery. It is possible that knowledge of ceramics and agriculture was acquired during the migration. Dogs had been domesticated and snowshoes were employed when the Navajo moved through heavy snows.

Navajo religion was a form of shamanism and already contained the curing aspects we find in the present culture (Oritz 1983: 489-90). The early culture must have included an almost profound fear of the dead (Spencer 1947: 11) that places taboos on the touching or naming of the deceased. This trait of the religion is still seen in evidence amongst the modern-day practitioners of the native Navajo religion. If one were to touch or name the deceased, an ailment known as "Ghost Sickness" will infect him or her, which, unless treated, is believed to be fatal. Those who prepare the funerary rites of the deceased are Sung over immediately afterwards.

Post Migration:

Upon settling in the American Southwest, the Navajo became semi-sedentary and utilized a form of transhumance. There was also some movement in search of game. In positions of leadership they had one or more "peace chiefs" with many local headmen and war leaders. Evidence has been found for the planting of maize and possibly other crops. The trade of meat, hides

and some minerals existed between the Navajo and the Pueblo during times of peace between them.

It is after the migration to the Southwest that we see the development of the hogan as the preferred living structure. During this time, family settlements with storage facilities also appear (Ortiz 1983: 491). Developments of variation in clothing added feathered headgear to customary dress. For hunting and warfare, arrows were modified and fitted with stone points. Despite frequent warring with the Pueblo, the Navajo acquired agriculture and formal political structure from their neighbours (Ortiz 1983: 491). By the time the Spanish arrived in the American Southwest, the Navajo had enough of an agricultural base to be noted as an agricultural society as well as a large and powerful nation (Ortiz 1983: 491). It is estimated that in 1868 the population of the Navajo was approximately eight thousand members (Reichard 1990: xxxviii).

Family Life:

Labour was divided between the men and women as well as being delegated by age group. The standard way of life saw the women working within the household, raising children, weaving, making pottery, doing some work in the fields, as well as gathering various food stuffs and keeping the family's goats. The men worked in the fields, hunted, worked leather, formed war parties, and, after contact with the Spanish, worked in silver as well. Both sexes worked together when building the family hogan (Spencer 1947: 27-29).

Within the family unit the father was seen as supervisor and director. He was also the family's protector and representative to outsiders. The wife was seen as an equal to her husband within the household. The Navajo children were treated with an amount of leniency. Both parents felt responsible for the children, although the father was not as close to the children as the mother. It

was seen as his duty to educate the male children in their responsibilities, ethics and ceremonial knowledge (Spencer 1947: 42-43). The mother is seen as the disciplinarian. Surmising from the linguistic evidence, there is no discrepancy in the treatment of natural and adopted children. This is demonstrated by there being only one term for each of the phrases "my mother" and "my father" (Spencer 1947: 39-43).

Land Use and Property Rights:

Land becomes owned by a Navajo family through a method called "inherited use-ownership". When discussing land rights among the Navajo, it is said that the land belongs to the family and no individual can give away their land without risking alienation from their family. Furthermore, the land was actually said to be "owned" not by the husband but by the wife and children (Kluckhohn 1974: 106). Inherited use-ownership can also be applied to cattle ownership. Each family member has animals assigned to him or her to look after, but family members were not free to slaughter or sell "their" animals (Kluckhohn 1974: 106).

Inheritance was through the matrilineal line, although in the current day this is becoming less common as children are inheriting from both parents. An alternative version of inheritance is the sons inheriting from their fathers and daughters inheriting from their mothers. Any land or property not divided before the death of the parents is returned to the overall property of the extended family (Kluckhohn 1974: 107). Only property that is an individual's own, such as jewelry, clothing, horse tack and, interestingly, ceremonial goods and the prayers themselves could be disposed of as the individual desired (Kluckhohn 1974: 107).

Marriage:

Marriage was arranged by the man's kin group, who gave a bridal gift to the

woman's kin. The man's kin group was also responsible for the ceremony itself. However, the woman's kin could reject the suitor if it was decided that he was unworthy. After marriage the couple moved towards the woman's family settlement which placed strain on the new husband because of a taboo of avoidance. Specifically, the taboo against contact between mother-in-laws and son-in-laws (Spencer 1947: 11). This appears to be more of an ideal situation rather than a reality, as the complete avoidance would interfere in daily living. There were recorded cases of polygamy but only in the case of very rich men, probably chieftains (Spencer 1947: 34). Divorce was allowed if there was a suitable reason. If the woman was mistreated by the man, he could expect retribution from the woman's kin group (Spencer 1947: 37-39).

Outside Influences:

There are two major forces that influenced the development of the Navajo culture. The first were their indigenous neighbours, the Pueblo, Athapaskan and Hopi. Out of these three it was the Pueblo that had the most influence. The other major force was contact with a more technologically advanced society; in this case, contact with the Spanish and the United States Cavalry.

Taken in order, the Navajo relations with the Pueblo varied between hostile and friendly throughout their history. There was a period, after the 15th Century, that saw a large influx of Pueblo war refugees seeking shelter within the Navajo Nation (Oritz 1983: 491). Some of the major influences the Pueblo brought with them are: complex ceremonies and ceremonial lore; various distinctive pictographs and petroglyphs, including the hunchback deity; sun shields with macaw feathers; heart lines in animal figures; macaw images; masks; and stylistic resemblances to prehistoric kiva murals. Other adaptations outside of art work and ceremony were: the use of cane arrow shafts, canteens, tools for spinning and weaving, sandals, close coiled basketry, gourd dippers, and woven cloth (Oritz 1983: 493-94).

Along with Pueblo refugees during the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, came Hopi and Athapaskan refugees. The source material leads me to believe that all four cultures blended together until the mid 18th Century when drought and pressure from Ute attacks drove the peoples apart. Before their separation there was a linguistic unity between the cultures and a "tribal assembly" was created (Ortiz 1983: 494-95). After the separation from the other cultures, the Navajo revitalized their religion by eliminating overtly Anasazi¹⁹⁵ elements brought by the refugees, and retaining strong Apachean (and related) emphasis. It was during this time that the Blessing Way ceremonial was either created or raised in status (Ortiz 1983: 495).

The first reference to contact between the Navajo and non-indigenous peoples is the arrival of the Spanish missionaries in 1599 (Ortiz 1983 491). This contact between the Spanish and the Navajo was originally friendly until the Navajo Nation was provoked. This provocation was 'in part as a result of the Spaniards' desire to retain Navajo captives obtained from the Hopis.' (Ortiz 1983: 491). This and other similar treatment led to hostilities during the course of the 17th Century (Ortiz 1983: 491). Once again the sources lead me to believe that there was a lull in the hostilities after the Pueblo Revolt or possibly only small skirmishes between the collective Navajo Nation and the Spanish. In 1774, however, fighting was revived between the two groups and the last existing factions within the joint culture were resolved into the traditional Navajo culture (Ortiz 1983: 495).

The Navajo suffered greatly in the war with the Spanish. There were losses due to casualties, but also to slavery. In 1818 a faction splintered from the Navajo to form the "Enemy Navajo". This led to an even greater loss of unity. There was conflict between the faction and the rest of the Navajo as to

¹⁹⁵This term is explained within the *Definitions* section of the thesis.

whether or not to pursue war or peace with the incoming Europeans. There were also regional biases and division of the opinions of the wealthy and the poor (Ortiz 1983: 496). In 1846 the United States Army became involved with the Navajo, and by 1850 three separate peace treaties had been signed between the Navajo and the United States (Ortiz 1983: 496). Since 1886, the Navajo have been struggling with the United States Government for land.

The reservation land set by treaty in 1886 was approximately 3,500,000 acres, which drastically reduced the lands the Navajo had occupied. This land has been added to by friends and sympathizers, and now totals approximately 15,000,000 acres, in three different states: Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico (Kluckhohn 1974: 43-44). It is estimated that there are approximately 500,000 members of the Navajo tribe (Reichard 1990: xxxviii)¹⁹⁶. These land rights were being constantly infringed upon by neighbouring livestock operators until intervention by the Federal Government in 1946 (Kluckhohn 1974: 43-44). This brings us slightly past the period which our source material was collected.

¹⁹⁶This figure is from 1950.

Section 2: Navajo Origin Mythology

Now to the mythology itself. There is an artificial grouping of the Navajo tales¹⁹⁷. The first division of the Navajo oral tradition is the distinction between "Myth" and "Folk Tales". Stories under the heading of Myth are said to have "high seriousness". These tales function to explain the world; supply models for daily behaviour; and the basis for ceremonials. The major subheading within Myth is the Origin Myth, which is the basis for everything a member of the Navajo does. Also, within Myth, is the subheading of "Rites". Within Rites there is mention of "ritual poetry and prose sections of great feeling" (Kluckhohn 1974: 134). There are also Rites for birth, puberty, different trades, hunting and warfare. Within these tales, a paradigm of Navajo behaviour is set by the Hero Twins. They are the "...ideal for young manhood, and models of conduct in war..." (Kluckhohn 1974: 124).

The other major division is Folk Tales. These are told for amusement and entertainment. Morals exist within Folk Tales, but the tales themselves are of a lighter variety. Folk Tales are often of a bawdy and lewd nature. Like the Celts, the Navajo have a tradition that uses humour, delight in puns and puzzles, "...tremendous interest in places and place names..." and great imaginative power (Kluckhohn 1974: 133). For the purpose of this thesis, I will be discussing the Origin Mythology with emphasis on the central tale, *The Ascent and Emergence*.

There are many variations of the Navajo origin story and a single storyteller may be familiar with several versions of the same tale. This is probably due

¹⁹⁷The subdivisions used here were created by authorities on the Navajo, they are not divisions that were made by the Singers themselves. All of the tales appear to have been told to an audience in a normal speaking voice. The only exceptions are of the "chants". These are done in a musical fashion which I understand to be very complex in its nature.

to the lack of an overall hierarchy for storytellers or Singers.¹⁹⁸ The origin story appears to fit beneath two headings: the first is *The Ascent and Emergence* and the second is the *Cosmic Ordering* (Oritz 1983: 502). Within her text, Aileen O'Bryan divides the tales into four divisions: 'The Creation or Age of Beginning'; 'The Order of Things, or the Age of Animal Heroes'; 'The Age of the Gods, or the Story of the Twins'; and 'The Wanderings or Age of Patriarchs.' These are the divisions I will use to discuss the Navajo material¹⁹⁹.

The tales within O'Bryan's text were collected first hand by the editor from Sandoval, Hastin Tlo'tsi hee (Old Man Buffalo Grass), a Navajo Singer, through Sam Ahkeah, an interpreter, who was the Singer's nephew. The tales were related to O'Bryan in 1928 although not published until later. It is uncertain if the divisions of the text are Sandoval's or O'Bryan's, although the editor states in her Preface, 'I have recorded it without interpolation and presented it, in so far as is possible, in the old man's words.'

Here are some overall comments about the tales before discussing each division in turn. At several points there are footnotes where the informant (Sandoval) states that a Chant or a Sand Painting would have occurred at this point (O'Bryan 1956: 40, 47). However, not all Chants are omitted, some of them are provided in verse sections but most of the Chants, especially in the third division, are not in evidence. Another facet to note is that there are obvious behaviours that exist within the mythology that are still practiced by the modern Navajo society. It can often be inferred, even when it is not stated outright, that this is why a behaviour or custom exists within the current

¹⁹⁸ As there is no hierarchy and Singers are also trained storytellers, I will be using Singers as inclusive of storytellers unless otherwise specified (Reichard 1990: xlv).

¹⁹⁹ Sapir who is my other source for the tales in translation, does not give a significant account of the Navajo Origin Mythology. After studying the material I have decided to follow O'Bryan's divisions.

society. Also, the origins of some of the Sings and taboos are made explicit within the mythology, as well as the naming of the different clans and who their ancestors are.

Another point worth commenting upon is the nature of the Holy People. It is difficult, on the basis of the version of the tales that we have, to decipher their nature. There does not appear to be a strict pantheon of deities such as that seen within Greco-Roman mythology. Rather, the mythological figure who plays the leading role varies according to the needs of the situation. This could reflect the culture of the Navajo, where different individuals lead depending on whether they are at war or peace. The individuals discussed within the mythology all appear to be Holy People until the creation of the Dîné.

The individuals that appear to be respected or powerful are: First Man, The Sun, The Two Yei (Hasjelti and Hasjohon), Changing Woman (White Bead Woman), The Twins (Elder Brother who is also known as Monster Slayer and Younger Brother, who is also known as Spring Boy),²⁰⁰ and The Gambler. Coyote, also is in several of the stories, often acts as a catalyst for disruption. Water Buffalo appears only a few times, but is a powerful force when presented, as she is depicted as being in control of the water sources, either by herself as with the flood and river, or through her children which represent Male and Female Rain. Two other entities appear in the mythology as informants for the hero. They are Dotso, the All-Wise-Fly, and Little Breeze. These two appear to the hero and advise him of answers to riddles or warn of

²⁰⁰There are several names by which these two are called. Enemy Slayer or Monster Slayer are the most common names for Elder Brother in the other sources and Spring Boy is the name Younger Brother is given within the text. Yet, in other sources he is known as Born-for-Water. White Bead Woman also has many different names and outside the text she most commonly called Changing Woman.

danger. Their help is accepted without question.

Also, there are patterns of repetition throughout the Navajo mythology. There is constant repetition of the number "four" both in association with direction and colour, as well as attempts to accomplish things. For example, in the First World, First Man tries four times to find First Woman's fire and is only successful on the final attempt. In this case it is because he uses a forked branch to site the fire (O'Bryan 1965: 2). In other sets of four attempts it is unclear or not specified with words as to why the fourth attempt succeeds. A different example of four is the number of times Coyote asks the Maiden to marry him. She refuses him three times and on the fourth she consents to the marriage, upon receiving the promise that Coyote would share his magic with her (O'Bryan 41-42). There are four Holy People in the beginning and four of the sacred mountains are set at the compass points. Barely a page can be turned without coming across a reference to the number four.

Direction is another of the repeated motifs. There are several references to the major compass points of North, South, East and West. Often these are associated with colours: blue, yellow, black and white. Also, precious goods are associated with the colours and, at times, the directions as well. This association is most obviously seen when discussing the ceremonial names of the sacred mountains in the Third World: in the East there is *Yol gia'dzil*, or 'the Dawn or White Shell Mountain'; the South has *Yodolt i'zhi dzil* or 'the Blue Bead or Turquoise Mountain'; in the West stands *Dichi'li dzil*, 'the Abalone Shell Mountain', and to the North is *Bash'zhini dzil* or 'Obsidian Mountain' (O'Bryan 1956: 4-5). The direction and colour scheme does not appear to vary, although different gems are occasionally substituted for those above.

The Creation or Age of Beginning:

The Creation consists of *The Ascent and Emergence*,²⁰¹ which is a tale about how the Holy People of the Navajo emerge through four worlds and come to reside on the Fifth World. Its full version is presented in a Sing known as the Blessing Way. The Sing can either be told in its full length (the Sing lasts for nine days) or told in a briefer account as we see through the examples given within the Appendix. The Navajo (referred to as the Dine or People) climb through, as many as, twelve different worlds. The length, and sometimes the version, of the tale which is told varies on the situation the Singer is presented with (O'Bryan 1956: 11, n. 39). Although the standard tale has four worlds ending with the current world as the fifth.

Sandoval told us that medicine men know the chants and the ceremonies in detail, but these stories are the origins from which the ceremonies were developed; also, that some medicine men divide the different periods into 12 worlds, whereas the older version holds to 4 dark worlds and the present changeable world. (O'Bryan: vii)

Each of these worlds is identifiable by a major colour and distinct events. The First World is associated with black, the Second World with blue, the Third World with yellow and the Fourth World with white. The subterranean worlds are inhabited by insect or animal peoples and, depending on the version, include the characters of First Man, First Woman, Coyote and other creator figures (Ortiz 1983: 502). The basic pattern of each world is the intent to live peaceably, followed by disruptive acts of jealousy, incest, or sexual assault, warnings from the deities, destruction of the world or exile from the world and escape to the next world, taking the residents of that world as well. Below I will highlight the major facets of each of the worlds.

²⁰¹This tale is provided in full within the *Appendix*.

The First World:

The First World is associated with the colour black. It is described as small in size and as '...a floating island in mist or water.' (O'Bryan 1956: 2). One tree is identified as growing there which was later brought to the present world for firewood by First Man. The sun did not exist, nor is it created, until the Fifth World. Clouds rising over the land tell the passage of time. These clouds, coloured blue, yellow, white and black, '...contained within themselves the elements of the First World' (O'Bryan 1956: 1).

The First Four Holy People are created in the First World. This includes the separate creation of First Man and First Woman, as they are a part of the First Four. These two are created by two of the clouds coming together. Corn is also created with them. After their creation, First Man and First Woman meet each other and decide to live together. Great-Coyote-Who-Was-Formed-in-the-Water is the next to be created. We are told he was hatched from an egg (O'Bryan 1956: 3). He is presented as an all knowing entity, but within the tales, as presented by O'Bryan, he does very little. Next, we are introduced to the trickster character of Navajo mythology, *Atse'hashke'*, which means First Angry. Alternatively, and most commonly, he is referred to as Coyote²⁰². Coyote claims that he was the first person created, not the others. However, these four do not appear to have a greater amount of supernatural power over any of the other Holy People. The only preferential treatment is that First Man is deferred to as the principle chief of the beings throughout the lower worlds.

All the beings created were not in their present form, but the conception of their forms: 'The creatures of the First World are thought of as the Mist

²⁰²In the tales collected by O'Bryan this individual is typically referred to as Coyote throughout.

People; they had no definite form, but were to change to men, beasts, birds, and reptiles of the world.' This passage is followed by a footnote within the text where the Informant states that the Navajo have always believed in evolution. (O'Bryan 1956: 2). Next, several groupings of peoples appear, usually numbering in fours, who are identified with insects. The next four to be identified as individuals are the Spider Man and Spider Woman, who later introduce weaving, and Salt Man and Salt Woman (O'Bryan 1956: 3). As different peoples appear the First World becomes overcrowded, forcing the inhabitants to leave by climbing into the next world.

The Second and Third Worlds:

In the version O'Bryan is told, the Second World appears to be a stopover point. We are simply told that fighting and killing forced the inhabitants to leave. The Third World appears to have a bit more substance to it than the previous two. We are told that it has two rivers, a male and a female river that cross each other, giving the place name *tqo alna'osdli*, The Crossing of the waters. We are also told of six mountains which are the elemental forms of the sacred mountains in the Fifth World. This is pointed out within the text:

There was no sun in this land, only the two rivers and the six mountains. And these rivers and mountains were not in their present form, but rather the substance of mountains and rivers as were First Man, First Woman and the others. (O'Bryan 1956: 5)

We are also introduced to more of the Holy People who live beyond the sacred mountains in the different directions: Turquoise Boy to the East and White Shell Girl to the West. They are also associated with elements that become necessary later in the tales like the Male Reed and the Female Reed (O'Bryan 1956: 5). We are told other beings lived beyond the homes of Turquoise Boy and White Shell Girl. After the discussion about the mountains, the tale turns to an examination of the different beings, focusing specifically on how they are

to become the different types of animals and how they are given their animal names based on characteristics they possess.

It is in the Third World that the people start interacting with nature, which is evidenced by planting. The different peoples gather in a group and seeds are given by First Man, First Woman, Turkey and Big Snake. It is explained that Big Snake's seeds produce the four plants that stay on the ground; pumpkin, watermelon, cantaloupe and muskmelon. We are told 'They planted the seeds and their harvest was great.' (O'Bryan 1956: 6).

The major event that sets the scene for the third division of origin stories occurs next. This is referred to as *The Separation of the Sexes*. It begins when First Man discovers the adultery between First Woman and Turquoise Boy. Because of this, all the men and hermaphrodites cross the river and leave the women to their own devices. Each sex carried on without the other for four seasons, then the women grew lazy and the fields became overgrown with weeds. Also, the women do not hunt and '...wanted fresh meat.' But when some tried to join the men they were drowned in the river (O'Bryan 1956: 7).

On both sides of the river the people used various means to satisfy their carnal desires. The women used rocks, turkey feathers, and cactus plants as phallic replacements. It was because of these acts that they brought forth the monsters that were later destroyed by the Twins. The men '...killed females of mountain sheep, lion and antelope.' We are told in the next line that 'Lightning struck these men.' (O'Bryan 1956: 8). The difference between the two sides of the river was that, where as First Woman instructed the women to use phallic instruments, First Man warned the men against comparable practices. After these events the sexes are reunited, First Woman apologizes and a four-day taboo against men and women sleeping with each other is put into place. This

taboo is the origin of the marital taboo of the same length between newlyweds.

The Fourth and Fifth Worlds:

A second major event occurs when First Woman talks Coyote into stealing Water Buffalo's children. This event provides the impetus for the journey to the last two worlds. When Coyote steals her children, Water Buffalo sends a flood in retribution that forces the people to flee up the Male Reed to the Fourth World. The flood waters also come up through the reed as does Water Buffalo. First Man talks to Water Buffalo and Coyote admits to stealing her children. A basket of turquoise and other goods, as well as the male child were given to Water Buffalo in 'sacred offering', but they kept the female child (O'Bryan 1956: 10).

The Fourth World was not inhabited for any length of time as the ground was soaked from the flood. So, all the inhabitants climbed through the Female Reed to the Fifth World. The rim of the Emergence is in the middle of the sacred landscape. To gain the Fifth World, a final task is completed to drive the water birds and water away, and thus drying the land was completed by Locust (O'Bryan 1956: 11-13).

The Order of Things, or The Age of the Animal Heroes:

There are some variations of detail within this subsection. According to Oritz, once the people emerge from the Fourth World, they open the medicine bundle and build the first hogan (Oritz 1983: 503). After the opening of the medicine bundle, sand painting and Singing of the various things into being occurs, followed by an inspection of the world. If she has not been born already, White Bead Woman (Changing Woman) is created, as are her sons Monster Slayer and Born For Water. The final event of *The Ascent and Emergence* is the departure of the Holy People (Oritz 1983: 504-05).

O'Bryan's account differs slightly from that of Oritz, as summarized above. In her Informant's version the above tasks are accomplished by First Man, First Woman, and Coyote-Who-Was-Formed-in-Water. These three are referred to as The Holy Ones in this division of the tales. The first story is that of the First Hogan, which is the basis of hogan building for the Navajo. There are different Sings performed, and the structure is ritually built (O'Bryan 1956: 13). The Sun and Moon were created by placing Turquoise Boy and White Shell Girl into a piece of turquoise and shell respectively. This would then create the Sun and the Moon. Again the repetition of colour and the number four is used within this tale. We also see the first time Coyote appears to make a nuisance of himself, and the first time the sacred buckskin is used (from a deer not killed by a weapon) (O'Bryan 1956: 14-15).

The next task was the creation of the months of the year. Again, the Holy Ones plan for a perfect 12 month cycle, starting with October. The calendar is set around climatic changes and wild animal movements, with only brief references to agriculture (O'Bryan 1956: 16-18). This plan was disrupted by Coyote when he learned that the others had done this without his knowledge. He accused them of purposefully omitting his input and made First Man answer a set of riddles or else he (Coyote) would ruin the calendar.²⁰³ Again, we see the repetition of colour and precious goods as well as four being the number of riddles First Man must answer. Despite the correct answers being given, Coyote still disrupts the calendar by making 13 moon cycles instead of the 12 planned, although a footnote from the Informant maintains that some believe the original plan was for 13 months (O'Bryan 1956: 18). In doing so Coyote makes the season line up imperfectly with the months, giving reason as to why the months are not accurate predictors to the natural world (O'Bryan 1956: 20).

²⁰³This is also the first time we see Little Breeze giving his assistance (O'Bryan 1956: 19).

The next two stories tell of the path the Sun takes in the sky and the relationship between the Earth and the Sky: 'First Man told her that she [the Earth] was to be the wife of the Sky.' (O'Bryan 1956: 21). Then First Man and First Woman form the sacred mountains. In order to do this, they use the soil taken from the mountains in the Third World to form the shape of the mountains. Various Holy Beings are then asked to enter into each mountain. When this happens, we again see the repetition of direction, colour and precious goods (O'Bryan 1956: 23-24). Also, the '...mountain people: the bear, the deer, the squirrel, and of all the others...' and plants which grow on the mountains are addressed, showing how they came to be there (O'Bryan 1956: 26).

There is also the explanation of death within this section. It is said that the Sun refused to travel for free and would claim life from all living things for his light. After the first death, the people wondered where the dead person would go and sent two representatives to find out. They searched all the compass points and finally searched the Yellow World where, after feelings of discomfort, they found the spirit of the one who died. However, they also discovered that no one could venture to the Yellow World again. This is the implied origin of Ghost Sickness and the fear of the dead²⁰⁴:

They were asked to look into the Yellow World where they had come from. As they were about to start they felt the flesh around their knees pinched; but they went on. They had a strange feeling of sound, like a rale, in their throats. They felt rather than heard this sound, but they went on. Then there was a sensation in their noses, like an odor, but they went on to the place of emergence, and they looked down. Way below them there was someone combing his hair. He looked up and gave a little whistle, and they both experienced a strange feeling.

²⁰⁴This tale is given in full in the *Appendix*.

When the Alke'na ashi returned from the lower world they said that they had seen the spirit of the one who had died. They told just what they had felt and seen.

They warned the others saying that they must not try to return to the Country of the Past for it was not well to experience such sensations nor to see such things; and if in the future someone were to hear a whistle when no one was about that whistle came from an evil source, and a prayer should be said at once. (O'Bryan 1956: 31).

After the first death there was interference from Coyote in the manner of death in general which led to the others also interfering with First Man and First Woman's plan, thus bringing old age and various illnesses (O'Bryan 1956: 31-32).

The final story in this division of the tales appears to be a tidying up of loose ends. Explanations are given for different things in nature. For example: why men are stronger than women; why and how babies are born; how sexes should feel for each other; the existence of jealousy; why the gopher stays in his hole. First Man also performs some directing of creation: he directs the birds to the cliffs, and the lizards to the rocks for their homes. He gives names to all of the animals when he directs them to their habitats (O'Bryan 1956: 33-34). Also, from this point onwards, the animals are restricted to their animal shapes:

Up to this time all beings were people and could remove their coat forms at will; but because of wrongdoing they were made to keep their coats; and they were made to keep to their kind and to live among themselves in different parts of the earth. (O'Bryan 1956: 34)

So ends this section. Now to move on to the fourth division of O'Bryan's text. In this division we only hear of First Man, First Woman, and Coyote from the

First Four. The animals, even after this point, still communicate and associate with the others despite the above. Also, different groups of people are referred to by animal names, eg: The Blue Bird Clan People. Unlike the summary by Oritz, there has not been the creation of Changing Woman.

The Age of the Gods, or the Story of the Twins:

The first story we find under this division is the explanation of stone built houses and the origins of black magic:

At this time they grew in great numbers and they became a very strong people. But many of them practiced black magic; when they left their homes they travelled in the forms of the coyote, the bird or the wildcat. It was in these forms that they began to kill each other. Evil grew among them. They planned to kill First Man. (O'Bryan 1956: 34)

The practice of magic was objected to by the members among the group that were "good" and they killed the evil members. When this occurred the relatives of those killed demanded First Man to kill the remaining practitioners of black magic. This he did by sending four plagues among the people that killed all those omitted in the first cleansing act (O'Bryan 1956: 35-6).

The next three stories each give the origination of a particular item. The first is of a game called the Stick Race. Again, there is the repetition of the number four and of the different gems and precious items which were bet on the outcome of the game. The first moccasins were also introduced within this story. The second story tells of the origin of Prayer Sticks to assist with rain. The third tale tells of the origin of weaving from Spider Man and Spider Woman. They tell the people how to set up the loom and what each part is called. (O'Bryan 36-38). The main point of interest in all these is that only weaving appears to be given to the people from an upper level of Holy People.

Then we have the appearance of the monsters. They are: two giants, two bird people, and the living rock. Upon their appearance nothing is done about them, even though the monsters are cannibals and killed people. However, it is stressed that these monsters are '...the fruits of their sins.' (O'Bryan 1956: 39).

The next group of tales appears to be an interlude of some form. Possibly there is a reason within the culture as to why the Twins are not introduced at this time, but it is not made clear by the Informant, Interpreter or O'Bryan. Instead, we have a tale of Coyote gaining his wife, his death and of his wife's misplaced vengeance. These are followed by the tales of The Gambler. After The Gambler has been defeated, we see another tale called 'The Story of the Moccasin Game'. Then there is the coming of White Bead Woman, her growth, and relationship with the Sun and then the birth of the Twins. The Twins defeat the aforementioned monsters, as well as some others and then all the Holy People depart from this world in turn. There are points of interest in each of these sections that I will now highlight.

In the tale of 'When The Coyote Married the Maiden', we see another repetition of the pattern of the number four. Coyote comes to the Maiden and asks to marry her. She refuses, saying that she will only marry the person who can accomplish a certain task. The Coyote then accomplishes the task and returns to the Maiden. The Maiden then claims that she has to kill Coyote before she will marry him. At this point Coyote goes away again and performs magic on himself that allows the Maiden to "kill" him without actually doing any harm. This entire series of events is done four times. Then the Maiden asks Coyote how he has accomplished these tasks, but he will only tell her after she marries him. Once they are married, Coyote shares his magic with the Maiden (O'Bryan 1956: 40-42).

The Maiden had twelve brothers, and after their marriage Coyote went hunting with them. While out hunting Coyote was actually killed by the Swallow People. Upon learning this the Maiden took it upon herself to exact vengeance. She did this by performing the same magic Coyote had used, so as not to get killed, then she turned herself into a bear and went on a rampage. At first she would do this only at night, but later she would go about in the bear form during the day as well. Her uncontrollable nature caused her brothers to plot against her, because they were afraid that she would kill them eventually. Their murderous plan was successful and various parts of her body were turned into items of use for the others (O'Bryan 1956: 44-48).

The story of The Gambler starts with *As san'no ho tlo dei*, She Goes Around Gathering Seeds or Rock Woman, becoming impregnated by the Sun. She then bears a son. After the boy reaches manhood, Dotso tells him to visit his father, the Sun. The Sun receives the boy and teaches him:

Now the Sun, who was the young man's father, had a great plan. He wanted to get hold of all the beads belonging to the people, together with their chief, whom he had never seen. First he gave his son two big, perfect turquoises, the shape and size of a dollar, for his earrings. Then the Sun began to teach this young man all the gambling songs and chants, and also the chant with which to draw people to himself. (O'Bryan 1956: 49)

The Gambler succeeded in winning all the goods away from the people, even to the point where he had won the people themselves. The Sun then asked for a the 'big round turquoise that stood as high as a man, and it had 12 feathers standing around it.' (O'Bryan 1956: 50). The Gambler refused to give this to the Sun, and the Sun planned retribution.

The Sun went to the Mirage People and visited one of their women, impregnating this unnamed woman just as he had the Rock Woman. The child

resulting from this second union grew to manhood in fifteen days. Then the Sun took him and shaped him in the exact image of the Gambler. This son's tuition was different. He was told to present different gifts to various animals in order to gain their loyalty, instead of being taught all the Chants as above (O'Bryan 1956: 51-53). The Gambler and the never named 'young man' contest against each other in eight games, and the Gambler loses because of the young man's animal assistants. After losing, the Gambler asks for the young man to kill him; here the Sun intervenes and sends the Gambler to the upper world. Then the young man gives the turquoise to the Sun, who sends the young man and his wife to one of the sacred mountains, *Dzil na' odili*.

In The Moccasin Game, one of the monsters called the Giant (who is also a son of the Sun) introduces a game in order for there to be perpetual day. The Game itself appears to be a guessing game much like "The Shell Game" but this version is played in teams. Including herein is an explanation as to why the animals look as they do, claiming that they choose how they looked, except bear and crow, who were asleep at the time of choosing. The tale of the Moccasin Game concludes with the decision to kill all the monsters:

The Hada no ege people and the Hada no estine people, Hasjelti, Hasjohon and Hasjetine came into the cave and started or began their planning: how the Giant should be killed, how the two Big Birds should be killed, how the Rolling Stone should be killed, how the Giant Elk should be killed, how the Twelve Antelope who ate human beings should be killed and how the Cutting Reeds should be destroyed. These reeds grew at the mouth of La Plata River, below Farmington, and anyone who stepped among them was cut to pieces. There was still another animal with big eyes who killed people by staring at them. There was another being who lived near a cliff and when anyone came near that cliff he kicked him over the edge. And the Swallow People were still warring, even after the woman who became a bear had been killed. (O'Bryan 1956: 70)

This provides a full list of the monsters the Twins, or more correctly the Elder Brother, also called Enemy Slayer, destroy. First, however, is the creation of White Bead Woman. She appears on top of *Dzil na'odili*, one of the sacred mountains. First Man found her after searching the mountain for four nights in a row. Again, on the fourth night, he uses a forked rod to site the area he is searching. Upon finding her, First Man and First Woman take her in as their own. In this section there is the introduction of an entity called the Most High Power Whose Ways Are Beautiful. This individual is introduced by White Bead Woman. We are told; 'No one knows his real name, but you must use the one I give you.' (O'Bryan 1956: 74). One wonders if this is a trace of Christianity appearing in the Native tradition²⁰⁵.

Again, we see a person going through a period of rapid growth. White Bead Woman grows from an infant to thirteen years old in thirteen days. As with the young man from the story of The Gambler, we are told that days for these people become years to the Dîné (O'Bryan 1956; 73). Then, the Sun comes to White Bead Woman. At first he allows her to see him as a young man dressed in white and riding a white horse. Then he tells her to prepare a house for him to meet her in. This he does on four consecutive nights, but without her seeing him. After nine days she bears the Twins, who grow into manhood in fifteen days (O'Bryan 1956; 75-77).

The Twins are told of their father by Dotso, and then go to visit him. On the way to see the Sun they meet an old man who gives them something to assist them when the Sun questions them. They meet an individual who we are told is the mother of the Sun, who hides them because the Sun will not believe they are his. The arrival of the Twins sparks a small amount of jealousy from

²⁰⁵There is a form of syncretic religion based on Navajo and Christianity. Also during some of the pressures of the late 19th century some of the Navajo did convert outright to Christianity.

the Sun's legitimate wife, as they are proof that he had affairs when he visited the Earth (O'Bryan 1956: 78-79). Again we see the appearance of Little Breeze as he assists with the answering of questions. After a few trials the Sun acknowledges that the boys are his and has them reshaped in a more handsome image. The Sun also gives them weapons which turn out to be forms of lightning.

The rest of this section is about the Twins, who are called Elder Brother and Younger Brother throughout the story. These tales give the accounts of how the Twins defeat the monsters. There is only one monster that both Twins defeat together and that is the Giant, who is effectively their elder half-brother. This tale implies that sometimes it is necessary for brothers to kill each other. It is also used to explain the lava flows that are part of the topography; we are led to believe that this is the Giant's blood (O'Bryan 1956: 83). After this victory the Twins return home with a trophy, either the Giant's scalp or whole head, proving their triumph. This and all subsequent trophies are placed outside the hogan on a post. First Woman chants and dances around each trophy four times when she sees it.

From this point onwards, Elder Brother goes out to face the monster while Younger Brother stays in a hogan monitoring his progress by the use of prayer sticks. Perhaps this shows both the warrior and the shaman acting in concert, or the value of each within the society.

"Yesterday our father told us that we must act together." They planted four prayer sticks and four hailstones in the hogan. The Younger Brother was to remain there and watch the medicine sticks each day, while the Elder Brother went out against the monsters. The Elder Brother said: "When you see one of the medicine sticks start to burn you will know that the enemy is getting the better of me. Take the medicine stick in your hand and draw the smoke from it into your mouth and blow the smoke onto the sticks and hailstones, one by one. And then

draw some more smoke from the burning stick and blow the smoke toward the four directions." (O'Bryan 1956: 84-85)

After each enemy is defeated, one of the surviving foes or their children are addressed by the Elder Brother. He tells them to forget their past ways and be of use to the people. Some of the children become birds of prey, and the internal organs of those slain are used to cure ills. Only four 'monsters' were allowed to live, because they would enhance the life of the people by their presence. In this text they are; poverty, old age, lice and death. In other versions cold and hunger are used instead of lice and death (O'Bryan 1956: 99). After all the monsters are dead, the Twins put down their weapons and armour of flint. This section concludes with the acknowledgement of the Sun losing power and that power going to the Two Yei, because they had planned the events of the Twins, and White Bead Woman who used it to create the Dîné (O'Bryan 1956: 100).

The Wanderings or Age of the Patriarchs:

Now we come to the origins of the Dîné. Out of ears of corn that were created with First Man and First Woman, and two fetishes (one of turquoise brought by the Sun and the other made by White Bead Woman from ground white beads) White Bead Woman creates four humans (O'Bryan 1956: 102-03). Coyote also has a hand in creation:

He jumped on the bodies and put something first up one nostril and then up the other nostril. He said to the first nostril: "You shall be saved by this." To the second nostril he said: "This shall be your shield." The first turned out to be the trickery of men; the second, the lies that they tell. But once in a while they are saved by their own lies. That was what the Coyote had in mind. (O'Bryan 1956: 103)

This story tells of four people, two male and two female, being created. In the next tale, it is revealed that others were created at the same time as these four. The text states: 'There must have been fetishes laid in all the above-mentioned places from which these people came. These [twelve], forming [six] clans were the first Dîné.' (O'Bryan 1956: 104). Each of the additional couples are the founders of a clan. The clans bear the name of the place name, or the name of a feature from the location where they were formed. That is to say the *Tlasch chee* or *Tha'tsini* (Red Under the Bank Clan) are from a location called *Ta chee*. The *Ash chee* or *Asi'hi* (Salt Clan, also known as the Beautiful Goods Clan) are from the *Ash chee* (salt). The *Sis na'jin ee'* (no translation) come from a place towards the *Sis na'jin* Mountain. The *Tat nes tsa nee* are from *Tse nee tat net tsa* (O'Bryan 1956: 103-04).²⁰⁶ The clan names from the first two couples are not given within the text. The tale continues to list the events that produce more clan names. The additional names are either from place names or actions done by the initial couples of the clan. The dog is also formed at this point by the Holy Beings to protect the Dîné, and a tale ensues about the origins of the dog's behaviour as well (O'Bryan 1956: 105-05).

The Informant goes into great depth at this point about his own clan's origin and Chants that are particular to them. Sandoval is from the *Tat chee ne* or *Tha'tsini* Clan as was his father, which is to have originated when the Holy People replicate the ceremony which produced the first four of the Dîné (O'Bryan 1956: 104-08).

This leads to the final episodes concerning the Twins: this time Elder Brother acts alone against Water Buffalo. He demands the return of all the people who had been taken by her: 'Now the Water Buffalo had taken all the people who

²⁰⁶The translations that I have given for these terms were provided within the text. Unfortunately, some names were not translated into English.

had been drowned, killed by lightning, and lost in quicksand or marshes.' (O'Bryan 1956: 109). The Water Buffalo agrees to release those she has, but states that she will take some people from time to time, giving an explanation of why 'Some are drowned, some struck by lightning, and some go down in quicksand or marshes.' (O'Bryan 1956: 109).

After the defeat of the Water Buffalo, all the Holy Beings gather and we have the naming of the Twins. There is a great debate and Hasjeine, the Yei, is summoned. He points out the rightful (and, he implies, obvious) names for the Twins: Elder Brother is called *Na' yei na' zone*, He who Kills the Monsters (Monster Slayer or Enemy Slayer in differing sources), and Younger Brother is called *Tqo ba' ches chini*, Spring Boy (or Child of Water) also called *Nai' dikisi*, He Who Scalps (O'Bryan 1956: 110). Then they are sent to live in the middle of the earth, where they keep the Sun informed about the events happening on the earth. There is a topographical location associated with this called *Tqo'bit cloch*, "the place where the water hits the cliff." Here there is a pictograph and the footprints of the Twins are embedded in the rock. Finally, all the different Holy Beings depart from the land. The First Four went to the East, while '...all tribes, other than her [White Bead Woman's] own people, move beyond the sacred mountains.' White Bead Woman herself rose up in a cloud (O'Bryan 1956: 112).

Following this are three more clan origin stories. The first story, that of the *Tqo Yah Ha'tline*, has as a primogenitor another of Water Buffalo's abducted children. In this tale Water Buffalo is either depicted as a male being or there are both male and female called Water Buffalo. This clan is known for being able to control the rain because of a special ceremony and Chant given to them by Water Buffalo. This ceremony involves the ritual building of a sacred hogan. However, there is a price to be paid for this ability and for the abduction of Water Buffalo's child; by later the clan must give up two of their

own children (O'Bryan 1956: 115-19). The other two clans, whilst being related to the *Tqo Yah Ha'tline*, are less involved, and have captured children as their originators.

The rest of the stories within this section are lengthy accounts that are explanations of pictographs, Chants, clan origins, or contain elements of all these. In a limited number of these tales we see the intervention of what appear to be Holy Beings, as with Big Snake and Bear in the form of two old men who seek to win two maidens. Or, in one last notable exception, the Sun. In this tale, once again the Sun impregnates a woman from afar: this time it is a beggar woman. Again, the offspring grows to manhood in ignorance of his father's identity. The young man, known as Beggar's Son, and his mother, move from place to place as they are driven out by harsh treatment from the villagers. This is usually because of their poverty but, upon occasion, because the villagers have determined that they boy's mother has been stealing turquoise from sacred sites. When the young man learns of his father's identity, he travels to him and is given knowledge and gifts. With these he becomes powerful and is able to reprove those who have treated him and his mother badly. However, he never misuses or becomes arrogant or conceited in his power as the Gambler was (O'Bryan 1956: 143-66).

The concluding stories are 'The Story of the Dîné', 'The Story of the Two Boys and the Coming of the Horses' and 'The Story of the Navaho and the Apache Peoples'. The first of the three is about the travels of the Dîné from the Pacific Ocean where they were created, to the Navajo's lands. We are told that 'Now all that has been told before this time was about the people living in the country before the coming of the Dîné, the Navaho.' (O'Bryan 1956: 166). We also learn, that in contrast with the first four humans, the Navajo are a product of creation by White Bead Woman alone. She then directed their four chiefs as to how to reach the traditional Navajo lands, and gave each a method of

attaining water, as well as two "pets" to accompany them. These pets were a bear and a mountain lion.

It is from the finding of water that we see a repetition of the naming of four initial Navajo clans: *Tqo a'ha'ne'*, Near Water Clan; *Tqo tachee'nee*, Bitter Water Clan; *Tqo te' gonge'*, Salt Water Clan; and *Has'klish nee*, Mud Clan (O'Bryan 1956: 170-71). They were joined by a clan that also had a "pet" from White Bead Woman, the *Kin ye'a ane*, Standing House clan. Their pet was Big Snake. One last clan joins them before reaching Navaho Mountain and that is the *Ga dine*, Arrow Clan (O'Bryan 1956: 171). More clans are added after this in a similar manner to which we saw above. The Navajo lend the assistance of the bear to help fight a defended village and afterwards all the pets are sent away.

The Story of the Two Boys and the Coming of the Horses, tells how White Bead Woman created the horse for the Navajo. It follows the set pattern of the boys travelling to White Bead Woman's house, and the ritual use of direction, fetishes of precious goods, and colour in creation. There is also help from some of the other Holy Beings to make the horses breath. Then the boys return and tell of their journey. The horses are later brought by an old man, possibly showing the merging of two different stories into one (O'Bryan 1956: 175-81). *The Story of the Navaho and the Apache Peoples*²⁰⁷ tells of the scattering of all the different peoples (tribes), and why the Navajo stayed where they were. It also gives an explanation as to why the Apache and the Navajo have a close relation to each other (O'Bryan 1956:181-85).

²⁰⁷This tale is provided in full within the *Appendix*.

Section 3: Conclusions about the Navajo Mythology

The first and foremost trait that is seen in the Navajo material is that it is a "living" mythology. There are adaptations still occurring and mutations in the way the tales are told. These mutations are not only variations of different Singers, but even between short, as seen within the text, and long versions, as seen with the nine day Blessing Way Sing, that are told by the same Singer to fit the different circumstances. Mutation and adaptation, we know, are key traits for survival of any life form or legend. Another manner in which this is demonstrated is the Informant's ability to identify the landscape within the mythology to the landscape around him. This has already been addressed in discussion of the Irish material within *Chapter Two, Section 2* of this thesis. As evidenced, place name lore plays a role within the Navajo material as well. The sacred mountains are obviously identified within the mythology as the mountains within the Navajo lands, but even less potent places are given a general location. For example the location of *Ag'thlan*, Much Wool, is near Navaho Mountain (O'Bryan 1956: 171-72). Here we see the mythical and actual landscapes having the same formations.

The final attribute that demonstrates the "aliveness" of this mythology is the manner in which it is related. The Informant, Sandoval, tells O'Bryan the mythology through an Interpreter, his nephew, Sam Ahkeah, who may or may not have been his apprentice. Whether he is or not is irrelevant because, at different points, both Sandoval and Sam perform Chants that are known to both, that accompany the mythology. Sam even adds a tale with the permission of Sandoval. We do appear to have an indication that the mythology is under threat. This foreshadowing comes from Sandoval's own fears for the future. He tells O'Bryan:

I sit on a mountaintop and I look into the future. I see my people and your people living together. In time to come my people will have forgotten their early way of life unless they learn it from white men's books. So you must write down all that I will tell you; and you must have it made into a book that coming generations may know this truth. (O'Bryan 1956: vii)

The second point that is not as apparent is that this mythology is the Navajo version of the origination of all the Native American Nations, not just themselves. This can be seen in the final lines of the text:

So the People who started from the world below came up to this White World, and they have gone in all different directions. They were made here in the center of the earth as one people. Now they are known as Indians wherever they are. (O'Bryan 1956: 185).

As other Native Americans are the only people with whom the Navajo came in contact until the Spanish arrived, it is not surprising that these are the only people within their mythology. This understandably egocentric viewpoint is evident in all mythologies of creation, including the Bible. The interesting point here is that the Navajo themselves take up such a small portion of their origin legend. Perhaps this is in recognition of the insignificance of humanity when compared to the vastness of the universe. It is also of interest that the Informant identifies himself as belonging to one of the clans created before the Navajo were created, although it is possible that he may belong to two distinct Native American Nations. Or perhaps the Navajo trace themselves back to the original clans of the Dîné, as well as to their own Navajo clan by some method not evident within the mythology.

My final comment about the Navajo, for now, is the very cause-effect manner of this telling. There is a direct relation between many of the events in the mythology and customs, Sings, topographical locations, or manners within the

Navajo culture. These are not only present but often pointed out within the telling of the story, so the audience cannot avoid the understanding of why things are the way they are.

Chapter Four

Section 1: A Comparison of the Mythologies

In this section, as the heading indicates, there will be a comparison of the two different mythologies. When making the comparison it is necessary to keep in mind the differing aspects of the tales as we have them. In gross terms, the Navajo mythology here utilized is contained within a single volume, although, some of the same stories appear with minor differences in detail within the Sapir text. However, as it was pointed out previously, the full version of the mythology entails a Sing of nine day's length to complete. Macalister's LGÉ, in gross terms, is contained within five volumes in length and has three distinct recensions. Also, LGÉ is very much a written work. While it was probably based on tales that were transmitted orally, this is not the case in its present form.

Therefore, it could be that the patterns are only seen a token number of times in the Navajo material, and that these patterns may have been represented in greater number in an extended version. The following is not a comparison of all traits within the mythologies, but a set of test cases. These cases will be contrasted as well as compared. An attempt will be made to stay within the origin stories. As they are not completely similar, however, where traits are suggestive, I will refer to other tales within the Irish Literature. I will start with the overall structure of the myths and then proceed to the similarities between them. Some of these similarities are superficial whereas others are much deeper structures.

Phases Within the Mythologies:

Both mythologies have two prominent phases; a wandering of the group whose mythology it is, and a formation of the landscape. These will be referred to as

the Wandering phase and the Formation phase respectively. Within the Navajo material the Wandering phase begins with the origin of the Dîné and the departure of the Holy Beings. The division title of this section within O'Bryan is called *The Wanderings or Age of the Patriarchs*. Within LGÉ the Wandering phase begins in Macalister's volume 2, *Section II: The Early History of the Gaedil*. It is then interrupted by the invasion sequences and finally, the Wandering phase resumes within volume 5, *Section VIII: The Sons of Mil*. The next section of Macalister *The Roll of the Kings* has limited similarities with the Navajo material, which will be illustrated below.

The Formation phase for the Navajo is contained within the first three subdivisions of the O'Bryan text, focusing on *The Ascent and Emergence*. However, many of the tales in the third division of the Navajo text, *The Age of the Gods, of the Story of the Twins*, do not have a comparison to the Irish material within LGÉ. Also, the material in the second division of the Navajo, *The Order of Things, or the Age of Animal Heroes* is most comparable to the Biblical element in LGÉ.

The Wandering Phase:

There is limited scope for comparison within this phase other than that both traditions possess it. Whereas the Meic Míled's wanderings are drawn out and, due to the Christian influence, are descended from the Biblical roots of mankind, the Navajo have a significantly shorter journey. Both groups encounter hostilities that they overcome, and they take up various residences along the way. These hostilities are usually in the form of other populations or, as in the case of the Sirens trying to enchant the Gáedel, a supernatural element attacking the wanderers. However within the Navajo and LGÉ there is an episode involving the leader's wife having sexual relations with another individual within the group (Topa and Elgnat within LGÉ and First Wife and Turquoise Boy within the Navajo). In both cases this leads to strife, although

the act has greater consequences within the Navajo material.

This could indicate a belief that the society is shaped from without, as opposed to from within. Both traditions also have their inheritors creating place names, but neither take a hand in the actual shaping of the landscape. It is not only the landscape but their own culture. The Navajo and the Meic Míled possess a limited amount of cultural influence, establishing what we consider to be significant cultural traits. For both cultures, most of these traits have been previously established in the Formation phase of the mythology.

Also, both traditions currently trace their ancestry back to these wanderers. As discussed earlier in this thesis, within the Irish tradition it has been established that additional sons were created to allow for an appropriate ancestry for dynasties that rose in power (Byrne 1974: 137 ff.). It may be that we see a similar process is occurring when we see different clans being formed during the wandering of the Navajo. Without the restriction of the descent from Adam via Noah, it may have been a topographical hierarchy. To elaborate, the closer to the Pacific Ocean origin point the new clan appears, the more prominent within the society it may be.

This could also be seen in the first clans of the Dîné. Note how the Informant tells that his clan was created in a repeat of the original ceremony at a sacred location. Perhaps this was a clan that needed a more inflated origin story to show its prominence. This is difficult to prove without an in-depth study of the current Navajo Nation. An indication could come from O'Bryan's introduction: 'Sam Ahkeah, Sandoval's nephew, now head of the Navaho Council at Window Rock, as well as First Chief of his people,...' (O'Bryan 1956: vii). Whereas it is never told which clan Sam is from, I do not believe after reading about the clan structure of the Navajo, that it would have been different from Sandoval's, possibly demonstrating that this clan is still

influential.

As discussed previously, it is believed by Irish scholars that there may have been only three sons of Míl in the earlier versions of LGÉ. This is one of the Irish pattern numbers, also as discussed previously. The other sons were believed to be added later for the stated dynastic reasons. Likewise, in the Navajo, the creation number is their pattern number of four. In the creation of the Dîné, four people are originally created. The first addition to these people is the creation of four other clans. In the Navajo creation, it is four clans who start from the Pacific coast and other clans join them.

The Formation Phase:

The creation of the earth is not an issue for either mythology. In LGÉ the Christian creation is given for creation as a whole. We will probably never know for certain what the original Irish or Celtic creation was and can only gain small insights through the Irish and other Celtic Literature, as well as comparative materials. The Navajo myth starts with a formlessness in the First World and, eventually, the Holy Beings arrive on this World. We are told quite late in the mythology that during First Man's creative stage; 'Then came the Earth Woman, Nahosdzan'esdza'. First Man told her that she was to be the wife of the Sky.' (O'Bryan 1956: 21). But this was not the creation of the Earth itself, but rather the naming of a personification of the earth.

But what of the creation that appears within both mythologies? What was present before the agents of creation did their work? When does creation take place? Who are the creative agents? How was the landscape formed? These questions are addressed below.

As with all explanations, it is necessary to start at the beginning. In this case, with an accounting of that which was present before the creative actions

occured: in the Navajo material the lower worlds were present and some materials that were used for creative acts on the Fifth and final World were taken from these worlds. The pine tree was taken from the First World to be used in the Fifth World, as were the ears of corn that were created with First Man and First Woman (O'Bryan 1956: 2). Soil was brought from the Third World's sacred mountains to be used in the creation of the sacred mountains on the Fifth World (O'Bryan 1956: 9,23). The Fifth World was initially covered with water until Locust defeated the water birds. After their defeat, the water birds cleared the water away (O'Bryan 1956: 11-12). So, it could be said that the substance of this world was created in the previous worlds and brought with the Holy Beings to be used in the final act of creation. The landscape the Holy Beings arrive at consists of a lake and four mountains which are not named at this time (O'Bryan 1956: 12).

In LGE, the landscape of Cessair is not clearly discussed. We are told of the three mountains that are named and the existence of the "Meeting of the Three Waters". However, in Recensions 2 and 3 there is also a considerable amount of landscape discussed in the fleeing of Fintán as he avoids the maidens (Macalister 1996: 193, 207)²⁰⁸. Within the invasion of Partholón we are told in a gloss in Recensions 2 and 3, and in the text of Recension 1, that a single plain existed before Partholón came to Ireland (Macalister 1987: 11; *ibid.* 1996: 271). All three recensions agree that there were nine rivers and three lochs in Ireland previous to Partholón (Macalister 1987: 17; *ibid.* 1996: 271). Both mythologies, therefore, begin with an under-developed landscape.

In the Navajo mythology, creation stops just prior to the departure of the Holy Beings. The creative agents within the Navajo material are the First Four

²⁰⁸For more on Fintán and Túán mac Cairill and their role within the text I refer you to *Chapter Two, Section 4*.

Holy Beings, usually led by First Man. This is seen by the creation of the Sun and Moon, and the paths they take. It is also seen in the organization of the calendar. There is a sequence of creation where First Man directs the distinction of the animals and their habitats (O'Bryan 1956: 32- 34). The creation of the Diné is performed by the Sun and White Bead Woman, with an unidentified group of Holy People allowing them the final element that gave life (O'Bryan 1956: 102-103). These Holy People are also said to have created dogs (O'Bryan 1956; 104). Within the creation of the Navajo White Bead Woman alone is the creative agent. However, there is a repetition of the Holy People providing the final element when White Bead Woman creates horses.

As far as landscape creation is concerned, there is only a small amount of this in the tales as they are presented. The combined efforts of First Man and First Woman create the sacred mountains on the Fifth World. Within these mountains they place various other Holy Beings and then they are said to 'dress them according to their positions on the earth.' (O'Bryan 1956: 23-30)²⁰⁹. The other act of landscape creation occurs when Elder Brother slays the Giant. After slaying the Giant his blood runs over the landscape and is believed to be the lava flows that are in the modern location of the south and west of the San Mateo Mountains (O'Bryan 1956: 83).

As seen in *Chapter 2: Section 2* of this thesis, acts of creation take place during the invasions of Ireland, including the invasion of the Meic Míled. But there are two different types of features created in LGÉ: the first type of creation falls under the category of being man-made. For example: ráiths, carns, grave sites and plains. The second type consists of the features that are rarely, if ever, considered to be man-made. Examples of these are lochs and rivers. This is not to say that there is never a loch created by "men". We saw

²⁰⁹The quotation given is in O'Bryan 1956: 23.

in the invasion of Partholón that two lochs were created by the digging of graves; *Loch Laiglinne*, and *Loch Rudraige*. We see this again in the invasion of the Meic Míled when Mandtán digs *Cairrge Blaraighe*. Members of the Túatha Dé Danann are also said to have created lochs. But as the Túatha Dé Danann are not human, but pagan deities, these lochs are not considered man-made. Within the Irish Tradition there are more creative efforts. However, as these are not included within LGÉ, I will not examine these acts of creation²¹⁰.

In all other cases, lochs and rivers are said to have simply burst forth. This suggests that Ireland herself is doing the creation, regardless of which force happens to be invading at the time. The digging of a loch is not unheard of; it can be done either by creating a blockage on a river or, as suggested here, happening upon an underground source of water²¹¹. Also, the creators in these events are quite far removed in time from the compilers of LGÉ. Partholón's creators are in the second invasion, and Mandtán is removed enough in the first wave of the Meic Míled kings to be allowed a creative status. Within the Meic Míled invasion, Mandtán as a creator is also suggestive. We have often seen the name of Mandtán, within LGÉ, as the name of a druid. This lends him a quasi-supernatural based status.

In both mythologies creation takes place in a remote past. The agents for creation are clearly not mortal in the Navajo. Where it cannot be said to be the same in LGÉ, Nemed means 'the holy ones', and the Túatha Dé Danann are clearly pre-Christian deities. The Fir Bolg present more of a problem as they have been perceived in three different manners: the first, is in that according to the text, they performed no creative acts, yet as seen within

²¹⁰Most notably the Fenian acts, but similar acts also take place within the Táin Bo Cúalinge, and other Irish tales.

²¹¹We see similar acts within the Saints Lives, of a saint striking the ground with his staff and springs or rivers burst forth.

Chapter Two, Section 2, they clearly did. The second facet of the Fir Bolg is that they are the invasion that 19th and 20th century scholars have used to demonstrate the memory of an actual peopling of Ireland. The third aspect of the Fir Bolg comes from Macalister himself, as he repeatedly demonstrates his belief that they were actually the Fomoraige.

The first perception of the Fir Bolg has already been discussed within *Chapter Two, Section 2* of this work, and needs no further elaboration. As stated within the *Introduction* of Chapter 1, I am discussing LGÉ as a story, and with that in mind the historical arguments can be discounted for the purposes of this work. Yet, here Macalister's argument holds some interesting possibilities: it does not state in the text of LGÉ explicitly that the Fir Bolg are the Fomoraige. However the evidence Macalister uses to connect the sons of Úmóir to *Sliab Emior*, the Fomoraige homeland, is suggestive (Macalister 1987²: 3-4).

The Fomoraige were originally identified with demons that had single arms, eyes and legs, demonstrating Otherworldliness. If the Fir Bolg are connected to the Fomoraige then they too are connected to the Otherworld. This lends a supernatural element to their invasion and, therefore, their creation acts if we were to accept Macalister's viewpoint. However, this evidence can also lend support to the Fomoraige being the deities of the Fir Bolg as I have suggested within *Chapter Two, Section 4*. The phrase of "the sons of Úmóir" could here demonstrate a form of ancestor worship or clan association.

As Cessair exists before the Flood and has only one created site attributed to her (*Slébe Betha*), the remoteness of her invasion lends credibility to the creative act. Also, there is the possible association between Cessair and Banba. This link could imply that Cessair is actually a re-named sovereignty goddess, making her creative act one performed by a deity. The invasions of

Partholón and the Meic Míled are more problematic. Partholón's invasion has the remoteness of time, but it is not clear if the conditions under which his invasion took place were either human or supernatural. While the Meic Míled are human, they too are remote in time to the compilers of LGÉ. Also, as illustrated above, the only other agent of creation within this invasion (beyond Ireland herself) is Mandtán. The name, Mandtán, is often used to indicate a druid, giving a tentative link with the supernatural²¹².

Thus, we have the digging or bursting of lochs and rivers in LGÉ compared to the Navajo's building of the sacred mountains and the spilling of a Holy Beings blood to create the lava flows. All of these are prominent features in the topography of the areas being created. The Navajo clearly have a topography created by their predecessors who were entities other than human. In LGÉ, while we have supernatural creative agents in the form of Nemed, the Túatha Dé Danann and Ireland itself, we also have agents that are of an indistinct category in Partholón, and the Fir Bolg. We also have the clearly human agent in the form of Mandtán.

The more significant aspect is that creation in both mythologies, aside from Mandtán within LGÉ, takes place throughout the Wandering phase. This means that the land the wanderers inherit, with a few exceptions, is ready to accept them upon their arrival. For the Navajo creation, it occurs during the Ascension through the various Worlds, by the collection of items that are later used to create the landscape on the Fifth World. In LGÉ, the invasion sequence contains the various acts of Ireland's creation. This indicates that the Ascension through the Worlds in the Navajo and the Invasions of LGÉ fulfill the same function within the mythology; that is to prepare the topographical

²¹²Please refer back to *Chapter Two, Section 4* under the Meic Míled subsection.

features for their rightful inhabitants.

The Otherworld:

When considering the Otherworld, the first issue that arises is what are the indicators of the Otherworld or supernatural entities²¹³. Location of the Otherworld is another concern, as is the ability of supernatural entities and humans to cross from one world to the other. Are there different types of supernatural entities?

The Navajo material tells of different indicators for the presence of ghosts within the tale of the first death. These indicators are the physical sensations of: pinching of the flesh around their knees, a feeling of sound in their throats and different odors (O'Bryan 1956: 31). Additionally, events like seeing one's double or the form of a near relative are signs of danger, but it would seem from the text that these episodes imply the presence of ghosts. However, Kluckhohn states that there are two different classes of people, the Earth Surface People, both living and dead, and the Holy Beings (Kluckhohn 1974: 180). This would then eliminate these as signs of beings from the Otherworld.

A single coloured person or entity could also be an indicator of the Otherworld. A further source for Native American mythology states in a summary of the Ascent that four gods were found in the Third World. These gods are Blue Body, White Body, Black Body and Yellow Body (Dixon-Kennedy 1996: 22). However, these are not the only gods that exist in the Navajo myths. But, along side these individuals, as we have seen, there are also White Bead Woman, White Shell Woman, and Turquoise Boy who later

²¹³ The term Otherworld is not mentioned within the Navajo material, however I will use this as a general term to indicate supernatural entities or events for both mythologies.

becomes the Sun. These beings are all identified with a single colour. In the text when the Sun appears to White Bead Woman he is dressed in white, although his colour association is turquoise:

All of a sudden she heard something behind her. Looking around she saw a great white horse with black eyes. He had a long white mane, and he pranced above the ground not on the earth itself. She saw that the bridle was white too, and that the saddle was white. And there was a young man sitting on the horse. The young man's moccasins and leggings and clothing were all white. (O'Bryan 1956: 76)

Where we do not appear to have any leading monochrome characters within LGÉ, we know of their existence from other tales in the Irish tradition. The most notable occasion is the in Da Derga's Hostel. Here we see the presence of the three Deirgs or red-men (Gantz 1981: 99-100). However, more prominent, in Irish literature is the white animal, usually a sacred cow or stag²¹⁴.

Deformities may also play a part in the Navajo Otherworld. During the separation of the sexes we saw how the women impregnated themselves using phallic instruments. This brought forth the various monsters, including the Giant, the two bird-like people that had feathers and beaks, and the Rolling Rock. Others who are also in this category are: the cannibalistic antelopes, the Giant Elk, and the abnormal Dangerous Young Woman. All of these individuals have abnormal traits are, cannibalistic, or possess physical abnormalities. In the case of the young woman her name, *Bet jo'gie etta hi ee'*, means overwhelming sex (O'Bryan 1956: 96). These are all considered

²¹⁴For more on colour within the Irish Tradition, I refer the reader to Alan Brufod's article 'Colour Epithets for Gaelic Chiefs' *Shadow* 2, no. 1. Included within this volume are other articles on colour in general.

monsters that are destroyed by Elder Brother. However, they were conceived in the Third World and are a sub-group of the Holy Beings within the Mythology.

This, again, we see with prevalence within the Irish tradition. The Fomoraige as we have discussed above, have single eyes, arms and legs. Also, in Da Derga's Hostel we have 'a black haired man with one eye and one arm and one leg;' (Gantz 1981: 100). This was one of the attendants to Conare's destruction. This singleness of limbs is another recognized trait to announce the presence of an Otherworld inhabitant. In later versions of LGÉ, the Fomoraige are attributed even more monstrous appearances, sometimes acquiring either avian or marine like features.

Another group of individuals that bear a supernatural status are the six sons of the Sun. These are: The Gambler, the young man who defeats him; the Twins, the Beggar's Son and the Giant. The Sun fathered each of these with a plan in mind. Each time, except for the Giant, the son had to journey to the Sun's house, identify himself by passing a test, was reshaped by either the Sun himself or one of the Sun's daughters, then was granted a gift such as the learning Sings, games or gaining the use of weapons.

The half-born son is another characteristic of Irish tradition. In LGÉ, Lug and Bress are half Túatha Dé Dannan and half Fomoraige. However, other heroes in Irish Literature are half divine and half human. The most obvious of these are Cú Chulainn and Finn. For Finn there is even the need to learn vast amounts of knowledge and skill before attaining his inheritance, as well as proof of identity.

For the Navajo, it may be difficult to place a location for the Otherworld. There is a relatively vague feeling about the afterlife. There is either thought

to be nothing or a biological continuation where one's particles, even parts of one's soul, pass on to the living things around them when he dies (Reichard 1990: 41-45).

However, to counter this, we see within the mythology that White Bead Woman had her house on the Pacific Ocean (O'Bryan 1956: 167). Also, during the creation of the sacred mountains, various Holy Beings were placed inside the mountains (O'Bryan 1956: 32-24). Finally, in the departure of the Holy Beings we may have an indication as to where they went. The Twins, as we saw previously, went to the middle of the earth. The First Four departed to the East to the place of the sunrise (O'Bryan 1956: 111). The other Holy Beings, were sent beyond the sacred mountains by White Bead Woman (O'Bryan 1956: 112). These locations are associated with sacred places in the culture. Kluckhohn tells us:

When Navahos go near sacred places they will visit the shrines and leave offerings. Some shrines lie on the summits of mountain peaks; others are found deep in canyons, in rock crevices or by streams or springs. They are located wherever events of great mythological significance are thought to have occurred. (Kluckhohn 1974: 204).

The Irish Otherworld is well documented as being under the earth, on top of mountains, within hills, and to the fringes of the land (Carey 1985: 39-40). Here, the comparison is not only between the mountain-inhabiting Holy People and the Irish *síd*, but between the areas at which both cultures offerings.

As for travel between the Otherworld and this one, in the Navajo material this appears to be one sided, with the Holy Beings travelling to this world. The exception is the sons of the Sun travelling to the house of the Sun for knowledge and magical weapons. Yet, to see a Holy Being in the present age is thought to be a sign of danger not only for the individual but the Navajo

Nation (O'Bryan 1956: 111). In the case of the Irish, however, we know it is possible not only for deities to leave the Otherworld but also for the unwary to be lead astray into the Otherworld, as well as the adventurers who go knowingly, eventually performing heroic tests and feats.

Numbers:

As I have previously mentioned, numerical patterning for the Navajo appears throughout the text in a repeated pattern of four. There are also twelve and eights listed, but the dominant and root number is four. This repetition and sacredness of the number four is also discussed by Reichard in some detail (Reichard 1990: 241-43). Also, while not focused on in O'Bryan's text, firsts are also important within the Navajo as the first incident lends an omen to the outcome of all like or subsequent actions (Reichard 1990: 248-49).

Odd numbers are also discussed by Reichard but these, she feels, also develop from the number four. The most prevalent odd numbers used in Navajo ritual and seen in a limited fashion in O'Bryan's text are five and nine. These are typically the number of nights the Sings last. However, there are only either four or eight days counted (Richard 1990: 243-48).

In Irish tradition the number typically focused upon is three. This can be seen within the numerous triple deities within the Irish pantheon. Also, the infamous triple death that has been discussed already within *Chapter Two, Sections 2,3 and 4* is another illustration of the pattern of three. Also the *Motif-Index of Early Irish Literature*, by Tom Peete Cross reveals numerous references to the pattern of three (Cross n.d.: 529-30).

However, within the invasion sequences, only one invasion actually focuses on the number three and that is of the Fishermen (Macalister 1996: 179, 185, 199). The invasion of Cessair has four leaders, Cessair and the three men.

Admittedly, it could be argued that this illustrates the Celtic three but the men had placed themselves under Cessair's leadership. Again, the later invasions of Partholón and Nemed have four leaders. The leaders of the invasion of Partholón are Partholón, himself, and his three sons; Laiglinne, Rudraige, Slánga (Macalister 1996: 269; *ibid* 1987: 7). Within Nemed's invasion we see his four sons in the position of chieftains. The son's of Nemed are: Starn, Iarbonél Fáid, Annid and Fergus Lethderg (Macalister 1987: 121, 131).

The Fir Bolg have five leaders. More will be discussed about the number five in Irish Tradition below. These are: Gann, Genann, Rudraige, Sengand and Sláine (Macalister 1987²: 7, 15, 29). However the Túatha Dé Danann return to the pattern of four, not with their leaders but with the names of their teachers, the cities they stayed at, and magical items obtained therein (Macalister 1987²: 107, 143, 169). These associations in their respective order are: Morfessa- Failias- the Lia Fail, Esrus- Goirias- the spear of Lug, Usicias- Findias- the sword of Nuadu, Semias- Murias- the cauldron of the Dagda.

When we turn our attention to the Meic Míled, we find there are eight sons of Míl (Macalister 1995: 31). These sons are listed as: Érimóin, Éber, Ír, Donn, Aimirigin, Colptha, Airech Febria and Éradan within MSS Y, L, E, and R (Macalister 1995: 25). Recensions 1, 3 and MS D, only claim to have seven sons of Míl but list the same eight (Macalister 1995: 25).

This could be an example of an overlooked numerical patterning of the number eight as there are "octads" within the other invasions, or it could be a doubling of the number four. The octads occur within the invasions of Partholón²¹⁵ and Nemed²¹⁶ but only within Recensions 2 and 3. Within the

²¹⁵'Eight persons were his tally, four men and four women,...' (Macalister 1996: 5).

Biblical section we also see an octad with Noah, his three sons and their four wives, whereas the single four patterns occur within the Cessair and Banba invasions (Macalister 1996: 170-81, 185-87, 197-203) and the only pattern of three exists with the Spanish Fishermen (Macalister 1996: 170, 185, 197)

The Rees brothers also comment on the use of number. Their conclusion is that the number five consists of four sides and the middle. They also feel that the number five exists within in its own right as well (Rees 1961: 186-92). Perhaps the first of the Rees's theories is the one we should be considering with the references to the invasion leader and his four sons being the chieftains of an invasion. Yet, I feel there are many more possibilities of numerical patterning, beyond the pattern of the persistent three that should be investigated. However, I do not feel qualified to pursue the investigation of numerology any further.

²¹⁶...All were drowned except the Nemed-octad.' (Macalister 1996:129).

Section 2: Conclusions

In the beginning of this work I proposed to accomplish three tasks: a discussion of LGÉ, which is within *Chapter One, Section 2* and *Section 3*; followed by a discussion of the Indicators for cultural behaviour, which is the vast majority of this thesis, and is *Chapter Three* in its entirety; culminating in the cross-cultural comparison with the Navajo material in *Section 1* of this chapter. This final task also necessitated the inclusion of a brief discussion on the Navajo material which the reader saw as *Chapter Three*. I feel that these three tasks have been accomplished with illuminating results.

Moving on to LGÉ itself, there are many theories extant as to why it was produced, ranging from a perceived necessity for a historical document to the desire to create a work of pure fiction. The major theories that were discussed within this thesis are: to legitimize the dynasties in power during Ireland's history; to unify Ireland into a coherent nation; a reconstructed version of Irish history; a Biblical imitation, either in part or whole; to provide a replacement origin legend in order to ease the conversion of a population. None of the above theories necessarily detract from the others. It could very well be that all of these goals have been intended over the course of the compilation of LGÉ.

As to why a replacement myth would be necessary in the first place, we should recall that the purpose of an origin myth is to make a population feel more secure in its place within the universe. It defines a culture to itself. Also in this case, the existing mythology contradicts, partially or *en toto*, the intruding belief system. However, we faced uncertainty as to who the audience for LGÉ was. This is due to its complex nature and the overlapping moral values of medieval Christianity and pre-Christian Ireland. This necessitated the term 'LGÉ culture'. We presume that culture included the clergy, the literate nobility and other literati.

The history, treatment and thoughts surrounding LGÉ has varied through the years. Scholars have treated LGÉ as a strictly 'historical' document to a complete Biblical imitation. The middle ground is an account where both Biblical and pagan mythological aspects may be seen, as well as possible echoes of historical accounts, as seen within the invasion of the Fir Bolg. LGÉ, in my opinion, can be traced to three elemental sequences: the tales of the Meic Míled, to which the Biblical elements were added; the combined invasion sequences; and the lineages of Ireland. Furthermore I feel that LGÉ may have been more of an outline of the tales that would allow for added embellishments when related in oral form.

Turning to the Indicators of behaviour that I have chosen within LGÉ, there was an examination of the Place Names used in Naming and Creation Episodes. Again we had questions as to what was being acted upon, who was accomplishing these acts, why was this done, and what could it mean to the LGÉ culture? During our examination some sites were found to have modern correlates, while others could not be located. However, the sites we could distinguish, most appeared to be sites of importance to the pre-Christian Irish society. That is to say they were either political or religious sites as previously defined within *Chapter Two, Section 2*. When considering the theory of LGÉ as a national unifying origin myth, a second reason to include various sites within LGÉ occurs: this would be to make the population of that area feel a part of Ireland as a whole, especially if the area in question is on the fringes of Ireland. Yet another explanation could be to give a tale of importance to a figure (eg. one of the sons of Míl) within the text by identifying him with a significant feat. This would give the individual involved a certain amount of credibility. Finally, a location could be named in order to create an air of believability within LGÉ as an origin myth.

When looking at the subsequent re-naming of a site, we can surmise it could be to distance an important site from any pre-Christian context. Or, in a slightly different line of logic, to make the site a part of the subsequent invasion by placing a mark of ownership on it. Alternatively, the compilers could have been salvaging all the various place lore by placing it in an appropriately appearing spot within the text, regardless of the fact that the physical feature or site named had already been created.

As to who was actually accomplishing the Creative or Naming acts, it was determined that this was done by the ruling family or their servants. In a few places Ireland appears to shape herself (eg. rivers bursting). A final note on Place Names: the sites that have long or elaborate tales appear to be sites that could have sustained a population and occur within the early invasions. This is also seen when locations that have a subsequent re-naming are originally named. In the section of the text discussing the Meic Míled, elaborate tales for locations are associated with death.

The next section of this thesis examines behavioral patterns as described by the Indicators chosen. These Indicators are: Initial Behaviours; Social Deviance, including Adultery, Jealousy, Greed, Incest, Violent Deaths (Kin-slayings, Vengeance Slayings and other forms of murder); Wife Trading; disasters including Floods, Plagues, Diseases, Shipwrecks and Oppressions.

I began with the Biblical elements of the text and by examining the summarized versions of Genesis within Recensions 1 and 2, suggested motifs LGÉ culture may have thought were critical Biblical events. The first item was Creation for which the reason is self-evident. The other events included were primarily the commission of a crime followed by a form of punishment. The act of Cain's Kin-slaying could also demonstrate a correlation between the Bible and pre-Christian Irish culture. Also within the Noah- Flood tale we

could observe the compilers emphasizing the rewards of virtue.

The other Indicators seen within the Biblical section also exist throughout LGÉ. Yet, before we turn to the other Indicators I would like to consider some miscellaneous items from the Biblical section of the text. The first is that within all three recensions, the invasions of Ireland can be traced to Adam. This could be an attempt to Christianize or purge the pagan elements of the invasions. The second item to be considered is the number of errors that occur within the Biblical section of the text. I have given variants on two possible explanations as to why this would occur: the first is that the compilers were not as well-versed in the Bible as originally assumed. The second possibility is that they included the errors on purpose, either so as not to contaminate the Biblical Word by proximity to the pagan lore, or to signal to their peers that LGÉ is a work of fiction.

When looking at the Indicators in general, we note they provide precedents or paradigms for behavior, both accepted and unaccepted. However, there is often conflict between what a societal ideal is and the actuality of an occurrence. This can be seen within the Indicators of Kin-slaying and Vengeance Slaying. According to Irish Law, Kin-slaying is one of their worst crimes. Yet, it is also acknowledged that when a king or one vying for the throne commits a Kin-slaying there is often no retribution. Both of these occurrences take place within LGÉ. However, the retribution for a Kin-slaying is often in the form of a Vengeance Slaying. This goes against the precedence within the Irish Literature of a supernatural retribution for the breaking of the King's Truth. The only account of the King's Truth being upheld for a Kin-slaying is within the invasion of Partholón.

In the case of Vengeance Slayings, it is the kin-group's duty to avenge their deceased. This of course leads to a perpetual state of murder for the thrones

of Ireland. As those in contention for kingship in Irish society are, by definition, kins-men, one could see where it would have to be recognized in a pseudo-historical document that the King's Truth does not always occur.

Except for the singular incident of suicide, which does not appear to be punished, the other deaths are again a case of crime and punishment. This also appears to be the logic behind the invasion of Cessair coming to an end. The invasion force was trying to flee the punishment of God, but ultimately found no escape. Yet other cautionary aspects of this tale could include the impropriety of worshipping idols and false gods, and the evils of greed. The first is indicated by the lack of knowledge by the false god/idol, whilst the second is illustrated by Ladru's death.

When considering *The Seduction of Topa and Jealousy of Partholón*, which is primarily a Place Name tale, we see the first episode of Jealousy. Also included is an Adultery episode which demonstrates the principles of honour, as it is by insulting Topa's honour that Elgnat seduced him, and the wantonness of women, by virtue of their gender. There could also be an indication of monogamy (by LGÉ culture) as the preferred marital state. Also within this story is the killing of a lap-dog and the subsequent Place Name, which can be seen to link LGÉ to the rest of the Irish Literary Tradition.

As within many other cultures, Incest is seen here as a manner in which the deities are created, specifically the gods of the Túatha Dé Danann. Also, within LGÉ kings are products of Incest. However only one of these kings is successful and that is Fíacha Fer- Mara. Due to the circumstances around Fíacha, it could have been that his tale was an episode of ancestor worship as well as a Biblical imitation. The other two kings, Lugaid Riab nDerg and his son Crimthann both meet tragic ends. Lugaid commits suicide and Crimthann has a short life-span. The final act of incest is that between Éremóin and

Odba. We are not told of any offspring resulting from this union. This again could be a form of an ancestor worship tale dealing with the purity of the ruling dynasty.

Under Wife Trading, I included two events. The first is the various marital relations of Tailtiu that in conjunction with her Place Name lore, especially that of the hill of Tara, could indicate that she was a sovereignty goddess of some form. The second event is the giving of the women to the Cruithne. This episode could be a reason for the believed Pictish matriliney. Or it could be an explanation of the practical nature of exchanging partners (in this case) women in order to keep the gene pool healthy. While the compilers may not have seen this exchange in such a clinical light, or even acknowledge that this is the reason for the exchange, this is a common practice in even very primitive societies.

When we consider the different Population Tragedies and Disasters the underlying element is that of cleansing. Along with this, these Indicators represent occurrences that were probably a part of the medieval and earlier society. The other alternative, that of divine retribution, is only seen within the Flood, and in a secondary sense with the death of Partholón's invasion. When discussing Shipwrecks and Drowning we find that both were seen to cause the creation of Place Names. In addition, these phenomena could be seen as Ireland eliminating those she did not want to occupy her, such as Donn and the Spanish Fishermen. Finally within the Nemed invasion, a shipwreck tale can be seen as a warning against material greed.

Plagues are associated with the death of kings and may not have been a widespread disaster, but merely an unknown specific illness. In addition to plague being a part of life during the time period in which the compilers lived, it is an easy method (and an alternative to a Vengeance Slaying) in which to move

through a created genealogy.

Oppressions are another factor in early Irish society. They could also, like other episodes, demonstrate the Divine Plan within Irish Tradition. This is either the motif originally occurring within both the Irish Tradition and the Biblical teachings independently, thus demonstrating an understanding of God even without access to His teachings, or the purposeful inclusion or alteration of Irish Tradition to reflect Biblical motifs as "evidence" for use as propaganda in an attempt to ease conversion.

Within LGÉ as presented by Macalister there are three Oppressions. That of Nemed, the Fir Bolg, first by the Greeks and then by Túatha Dé Danann. The oppression of the Nemed by the Fomoraige occurs after the death of their leader. This oppression could be an indication of the King's Truth, as without Nemed, there was no strong leadership. It also contains the tribute that has since been translated into fairy lore, milk and bread. Combined with the date of Samian as when the tribute was due, the taxation of the Nemed appears to have Otherworldly connotations. However, it must be remembered that Samain was at the end of harvest and therefore a practical date to collect any tribute or tax.

The two enslavements of the Fir Bolg require little more discussion here. However the oppression of the Túatha Dé Danann by the Fomoraige does not occur within Macalister's edition. I have theorized that, merely as an outline, the mention of *Cath Maige Tuired* was enough to remind the reader of the Túatha Dé Danann's oppression. Alternatively, there were two different strands of the *Cath Maige Tuired*; one as seen in LGÉ within Macalister's edition, and the other being the now famous oppression of the Túatha Dé Danann.

Initial Episodes are the primary precedent setters. Within the Biblical section of LGÉ this is especially true. The list of Initial occupations within the Biblical section can be compared to the occupations that were given special value within the Irish Law Tracts. The Indicators of Initial Episodes can also be used to lend LGÉ credibility as an origin myth in much the same way that Place Names may have been used. In the case of Initial Deaths and Initial Landings, these are typically Place Name stories as well.

There are two exceptions to this: the first is the Initial Landing of Banba. And the second is the first exploration of a mound by the sons of the Dagda. Banba's episode combined with her discussions with the Meic Miled, could be the vestiges of her personification as a sovereignty deity. As for the episode that includes the sons of the Dagda, Macalister feels they are grave robbing. I maintain that combined with the statements of their kingship, it could be the remainder of a kingly heroic biography.

The other Initial Events appear to show a gradual evolution of the society. From the establishment of basic needs, to the core aspects of Irish and Celtic culture as we understand them, following on to the development of legal precedents to the procurement of luxury items. The cruder or more pagan aspects are in invasions that are removed in time from the era of the compilers, while the skills of the literati, for example are at a suitably distant time for prestige, but close enough so as not to be tainted by paganism.

The Supernatural episodes can also be seen in this light; the establishment of the pagan abilities and the subsequent demonstration of equal or superior abilities by the Christian Saints and holy men. Alternatively the same information should have made conversion from the pre-Christian religion to Christianity easier. By all evidence there was not a precedent that the Supernatural was inherently evil, and in this ways Saints also demonstrated the

power of God, through miraculous events.

There was, however, contention between the pagan gods (namely the Túatha Dé Danann), and the Christian God. This needed to be resolved, and here we see the definite Christian leanings of the compilers of LGÉ. The Túatha Dé Danann were viewed variously within the text as demons, angels, minions of Lucifer, mortal men, poets, and advisors, demonstrating the confusion and individual ponderings of the compilers.

The Túatha Dé Danann are the first invasion force about which we hear of elaborate occurrences of the magical arts. Prior to this we have only encountered prophecy within the Bible, divination by the false god of Cessair, and the magical battle between the Fomoraige and the invasion of Partholón. The Túatha Dé Danann, by contrast, have studied magic and arrive without boats, while clouding the sun. Another feat is the re-attachment of Nuadu's arm, both silver and flesh, followed by their attempts to keep the Meic Míled from landing on Ireland.

Another group that has varying representation within the text is the Fomoraige. Whilst they are never considered an invasion within the text, they appear within the invasion sequence of Partholón and are never truly vanquished. A fundamental variance is in their physical appearance. Originally, they are cast as having single limbs and a single eye when they appear within the invasion of Partholón. This is never mentioned in subsequent encounters, where they are merely raiders, or sea-raiders.

The Fomoraige are considered the enemy of all the invasions bar the Fir Bolg, which I have suggested indicates they were the echo of the deities of the population that the Fir Bolg represent. They can also be considered an agent for Ireland herself. In this scenario, they represent a force used to test the

different invasions for worthiness. This would also explain why they are still in evidence when the Meic Míled arrive on Ireland.

Within the magical items that appear in LGÉ, we see animals that are immune to harm and can be eaten but appear again, and a remarkable hound that turns water to wine. There are also weapons that cast true and are inescapable, as well as a bottomless cauldron. The final magical item is a stone that proclaims the rightful king. All of these implements possess traits that would have been desirable, especially at the time the compilers were working. They solve basic need problems: namely the need to defeat your enemy and not go hungry or thirsty, while vanquishing him. As well as a way to solve the kingship problem with a handy little *tiem* composed out of (almost) indestructible stone.

Finally, to turn our attention to the Meic Míled, the prophesied inhabitants of Ireland. They fight the Túatha Dé Danann, their monstrous horde and their illusions (eg. the sods of earth presented by Banba). Yet it is only when presented with the magic of the Túatha Dé Danann that the Meic Míled counter with their own, (eg. it is only after the Túatha Dé Danann use the *gáeth druad* that Aimirgin calls upon his own powers to defeat them). Indicating, not that the use of magic constitutes treachery, but that magic should be used only in defense against magic.

Supernatural Deaths are another Indicator that demonstrated God's power or serve as warning against invoking His disapproval. These can be seen as occurring as a direct action (as in the lightning bolts of Saint Patrick) and various other curses from saints and holy men. Alternatively, they can be an indirect action, such as the mass death of Tigernmass mac Ollaig whilst worshipping Crom Craich or drowning of Muirchertach mac Erca on Samian.

A final magical entity to examine is Ireland herself; Ireland is constantly referred to in the female gender, which could make the island its own sovereignty deity. There are three women that the Meic Míled encounter who demand their name be given to the island. Perhaps these three are the materialization of the essence of Ireland. A similar event occurs within the Uí Néill myth when the hag becomes a beautiful woman, claiming to be Ireland. Also, Ireland bursts forth in several acts of self creation and appears to intervene by swamping ships when she does not like their occupants (eg. Donn's drowning).

As to the presentation of the Navajo history and mythology there is little to add. These are brief outlines and I refer the reader to the Navajo section of the *Bibliography* for more detailed accounts. I will merely add here that the Navajo material was presented to O'Bryan by a Singer who had probably been practicing his craft orally for many years. It was not, as with LGÉ, worked on by compilers and scribes as a written corpus. Sandoval can point to the sites he names. He also demonstrates how aspects of the Navajo culture came about within the Navajo Origin mythology which gives the Navajo material a sense of aliveness lacking within LGÉ.

When comparing the two mythologies we find that they both have two basic phases, the Formation Phase and the Wandering Phase. These phases do not take place in turn but rather simultaneously. Another similarity is that both cultures trace their ancestors to the wandering peoples. We find a difference in detail as LGÉ has many acts of topographic creation, whilst the Navajo material strives to explain all things created on earth. Yet, the agents within both mythologies typically have some connection with the supernatural, and creation itself takes place in the distant past.

Hereos appear to go to the Otherworld to gain knowledge or magical items

within both mythologies. Yet, both cultures tend to be wary of Otherworld forces. In the Navajo this is due to the phenomenon called Ghost Sickness, whilst in LGÉ it is because of retribution from crossing the supernatural powers, be they the Fomoraige, the Túatha Dé Danann or God. Single colours also seem to represent the Otherworld in each society. Additionally in both we see the creation of monsters due to the sins of the people (although within LGÉ it is a gloss in the Biblical section of the text).

Other similarities include the sacredness with which sources of water are endowed, and the significance of numerical patterns. While there is an obvious preference for the number pattern of four within the Navajo, scholarly tradition looks at three within the Irish Tradition. I have demonstrated the use of the number four within the invasions and, by extension, the numbers eight and five as well.

Finally, I must acknowledge that there were other Indicators and motifs that were not included in the final version of this thesis, demonstrating that there is still more work to be done along this methodology with this and other Irish texts. I would also add my comments to those of previous scholars concerning the necessity for a new edition of the *Lebor Gabála Éirenn*. Whilst Macalister's edition, as I have demonstrated, can be used, it is confusing and does not allow for quick reference due to lack of an index. This necessitated the creation of my own index for this thesis for ease of referral and referencing. Additionally, Macalister's condemnation of the compilers as "school-boys" and "charlatans" and his claim that they are generally ignorant, is annoying at best. I look forward to the various editions that are said to be works in progress at this time.

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May 1999

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Appendix

The Appendix consists of excerpts from Aileen O'Bryan's work *The Diné: Origin Myths of the Navaho Indians*. The format has been altered slightly to fit with the overall format of this thesis.

The Creation or Age of Beginning¹

The First World:

These stories were told to Sandoval, Hastin Tlo'tsi hee, by his grandmother, Esdzan Hosh kige. Her ancestor was Esdzan at a', the medicine woman who had the Calendar Stone in her keeping. Here are the stories of the Four Worlds that had no sun, and of the Fifth, the world we live in, which some call the Changeable World.

The First World, Ni'hodilqil, was black as black wool. It had four corners, and over these appeared four clouds. These four clouds contained within themselves the elements of the First World. They were in color, black, white, blue, and yellow.

The Black Cloud represented the Female Being or Substance. For as a child sleeps when being nursed, so life slept in the darkness of the Female Being. The White Cloud represented the Male Being or Substance. He was the Dawn, the Light-Which-Awakens, of the First World.

In the East, at the place where the Black Cloud and the White Cloud met, First Man, Atse'hastqin, was formed; and with him was formed the white corn, perfect in shape, with kernels covering the whole ear. Dohonot i'ni is the

¹O'Bryan 1956: 1-13.

name of this first seed corn, and it is also the name of the place where the Black Cloud and the White Cloud met.

The First World was small in size, a floating island in mist or water. On it there grew one tree, a pine tree, which was later brought to the present world for firewood.

Man was not, however, in his present form. The conception was of a male and a female being who were to become man and woman. The creatures of the First World are thought of as the Mist People; they had no definite form, but were to change to men, beasts, birds, and reptiles of this world.

Now on the western side of the First World, in a place that later was to become the Land of Sunset, there appeared the Blue Cloud, and opposite it there appeared the Yellow Cloud. Where they came together First Woman was formed, and with her the yellow corn. This ear of corn was also perfect. With First Woman there came the white shell and the turquoise and the yucca.

First Man stood on the eastern side of the First World. He represented the Dawn and was the Life Giver. First Woman stood opposite in the West. She represented Darkness and Death.

First Man burned a crystal for a fire. The crystal belonged to the male and was the symbol of the mind and of clear seeing. When First Man burned it, it was the mind's awakening. First Woman burned her turquoise for a fire. They saw each other's lights in the distance. When the Black Cloud and the White Cloud rose higher in the sky First Man set out to find the turquoise light. He went twice without success, and again a third time; then he broke a forked branch from his tree, and, looking through the fork, he marked the

place where the light burned. And the fourth time he walked to it and found smoke coming from a home.

"Here is the home I could not find," First Man said.

First Woman answered: "Oh, it is you. I saw you walking around and I wondered why you did not come."

Again the same thing happened when the Blue Cloud and the Yellow Cloud rose higher in the sky. First Woman saw a light and she went out to find it. Three times she was unsuccessful, but the fourth time she saw the smoke and she found the home of First Man.

"I wondered what this thing could be," she said.

"I saw you walking and I wondered why you did not come to me," First Man answered.

First Woman saw that First Man had a crystal for a fire, and she saw that it was stronger than her turquoise fire. And as she was thinking, First Man spoke to her. "Why do you not come with your fire and we will live together." The woman agreed to this. So instead of the man going to the woman, as is the custom now, the woman went to the man.

About this time there came another person, the Great-Coyote-Who-Was-Formed-in-the-Water, and he was in the form of a male being. He told the two that he had been hatched from an egg. He knew all that was under the water and all that was in the skies. First Man placed this person ahead of himself in all things. The three began to plan what was to come to pass; and while they were thus occupied another being came to them. He also had the form of a man, but he wore a hairy coat, lined with white fur, that fell to his knees and was belted in at the waist. His name was Atse'hashke', First Angry

or Coyote. He said to the three: "You believe that you were the first persons. You are mistaken. I was living when you were formed."

Then four beings came together. They were yellow in color and were called the ts'ts'na or wasp people. They knew the secret of shooting evil and could harm others. They were very powerful.

This made eight people.

Four more beings came. They were small in size and wore red shirts and had little black eyes. They were the naazo'zi, or spider ants. They knew how to sting, and were a great people.

After these came a whole crowd of beings. Dark colored they were, with thick lips and dark, protruding eyes. They were the wolazhi'ni, the black ants. They also knew the secret of shooting evil and were powerful; but they killed each other steadily.

By this time there were many people. Then came a multitude of little creatures. They were peaceful and harmless, but the odor from them was unpleasant. They were called the wolazhi'ni nlchu nigi, meaning that which emits an odor.

And after the wasps and the different ant people there came the beetles, dragonflies, bat people, the Spider Man and Woman, and the Salt Man and Woman, and others that rightfully had no definite form but were among those people who peopled the First World. And this world, being small in size, became crowded, and the people quarreled and fought among themselves, and in all ways made living very unhappy.

The Second World:

Because of the strife in the First World, First Man, First Woman, the Great-Coyote-Who-Was-Formed-in-the-Water, and the Coyote called First Angry, followed by all the others, climbed up from the World of Darkness and Dampness to the Second or Blue World.

They found a number of people already living there: blue birds, blue hawks, blue jays, blue herons, and all the blue-feathered beings. The powerful swallow people lived there also, and these people made the Second World unpleasant for those who had come from the First World. There was fighting and killing.

The First Four found an opening in the World of Blue Haze; and they climbed through this and led the people up into the Third or Yellow world.

The Third World:

The bluebird was the first to reach the Third or Yellow World. After him came the First Four and all the others.

A great river crossed this land from north to south. It was the Female River. There was another river crossing it from east to west, it was the Male River. This Male River flowed through the Female River and on; and the name of this place is tqo alna'osdli, the Crossing of the waters.

There were six mountains in the Third World. In the East was Sis na' jin, the Standing Black Sash. Its ceremonial name is Yol gai'dzil, the Dawn or White Shell Mountain. In the South stood Tso'dzil, the Great Mountain, also called Mountain Tongue. Its ceremonial name is Yodolt i'zhi dzil, the Blue Bead or Turquoise Mountain. In the West stood Dook'oslid, and the meaning of this

name is forgotten. Its ceremonial name is Dichi'li dzil, the Abalone Shell Mountain. In the North stood Debe'ntsa, Many Sheep Mountain. Its ceremonial name is Bash'zhini dzil, Obsidian Mountain. Then there was Dzil na'odili, the Upper Mountain. It was very sacred; and its name means also the Center Place, and the people moved around it. Its ceremonial name is Ntl'is dzil, Precious Stone or Banded Rock Mountain. There was still another mountain called Cllol'i'i or Dzil na'odili choli, and it was also a sacred mountain.

There was no sun in this land, only the two rivers and the six mountains. And these rivers and mountains were not in their present form, but rather the substance of mountains and rivers as were First Man, First Woman, and the others.

Now beyond Sis na' jin, in the east, there lived the Turquoise Hermaphrodite, Ashton nutli. He was also known as the Turquoise Boy. And near this person grew the male reed. Beyond, still farther in the east, there lived a people called the Hadahuneya'nigi, the Mirage or Agate People. Still farther in the east there lived twelve beings called the Naaskiddi. And beyond the home of these beings there lived four others- the Holy Man, the Holy Woman, the Holy Boy, and the Holy Girl.

In the West there lived the White Shell Hermaphrodite or Girl, and with her was the big female reed which grew at the water's edge. It had no tassel. Beyond her in the West there lived another stone people called the Hadahunes'tqin, the Ground Heat People. Still farther on there lived another twelve beings, but these were all females. And again, in the Far West, there lived four Holy Ones.

Within this land there lived the Kisa'ni, the ancients of the Pueblo People. On

the six mountains there lived the Cave Dwellers or Great Swallow People. On the mountains lived also the light and dark squirrels, chipmunks, mice, rats, the turkey people, the deer and cat people, the spider people, and the lizards and snakes. The beaver people lived along the rivers, and the frogs and turtles and all the underwater people in the water. So far all the people were similar. They had no definite form, but they had been given different names because of different characteristics.

Now the plan was to plant.

First Man called the people together. He brought forth the white corn which had been formed with him. First Woman brought the yellow corn. They laid the perfect ears side by side; then they asked one person from among the many to come and help them. The Turkey stepped forward. They asked him where he had come from, and he said that he had come from the Gray Mountain. He danced back and forth four times, then he shook his feather coat and there dropped from his clothing four kernels of corn, one gray, one blue, one black, and one red. Another person was asked to help in the plan of the planting. The Big Snake came forward. He likewise brought forth four seeds, the pumpkin, the watermelon, the cantaloupe, and the muskmelon. His plants all crawl on the ground.

They planted the seeds, and their harvest was great.

After the harvest the Turquoise Boy from the East came and visited First Woman. When First Man returned to his home he found his wife with this boy. First Woman told her husband that Ashon nutli' was of her flesh and not of his flesh. She said that she had used her own fire, the turquoise, and had ground her own yellow corn into meal. This corn she had planted and cared for herself.

Now at that time there were four chiefs: Big Snake, Mountain Lion, Otter, and Bear. And it was the custom when the black cloud rose in the morning for First Man to come out of his dwelling and speak to the people. After First Man had spoken the four chiefs told them what they should do that day. They also spoke of the past and of the future. But after First Man found his wife with another he would not come out to speak to the people. The black cloud rose higher, but First Man would not leave his dwelling; neither would he eat or drink. No one spoke to the people for 4 days. All during this time First Man remained silent, and would not touch food or water. Four times the white cloud rose. Then the four chiefs went to First Man and demanded to know why he would not speak to the people. The chiefs asked this question three times, and a fourth, before First Man would answer them.

He told them to bring him an emetic. This he took and purified himself. First Man then asked them to send the hermaphrodite to him. When he came First Man asked him if the metate and brush were his. He said that they were. First Man asked him if he could cook and prepare food like a woman, if he could weave, and brush the hair. And when he had assured First Man that he could do all manner of woman's work, First Man said: "Go and prepare food and bring it to me." After he had eaten, First Man told the four chiefs what he had seen, and what his wife had said.

At this time the Great-Coyote-Who-Was-Formed-in-the-Water came to First Man and told him to cross the river. They made a big raft and crossed at the place where the Male River followed through the Female River. And all the male beings left the female beings on the river bank; and as they rowed across the river they looked back and saw that First Woman and the female beings were laughing. They were also behaving very wickedly.

In the beginning the women did not mind being alone. They cleared and

planted a small field. On the other side of the river First Man and the chiefs hunted and planted their seeds. They had a good harvest. Nadle ground the corn and cooked the food. Four seasons passed. The men continued to have plenty and were happy; but the women became lazy, and only weeds grew on their land. The women wanted fresh meat. Some of them tried to join the men and were drowned in the river.

First Woman made a plan. As the women had no way to satisfy their passions, some fashioned long narrow rocks, some used the feathers of the turkey, and some used strange plants (cactus). First Woman told them to use these things. One woman brought forth a big stone. This stone-child was later the Great Stone that rolled over the earth killing men. Another woman brought forth the Big Birds of Tsa bida'hi; and others gave birth to the giants and monsters who later destroyed many people.

On the opposite side of the river the same condition existed. The men, wishing to satisfy their passions, killed the females of mountain sheep, lion, and antelope. Lightning struck these men. When First Man learned of this he warned his men that they would all be killed. He told them that they were indulging in a dangerous practice. Then the second chief spoke: he said that life was hard and that it was a pity to see women drowned. He asked why they should not bring the women across the river and all live together again.

"Now we can see for ourselves what comes from our wrong doing," he said. "We will know how to act in the future." The three other chiefs of the animals agreed with him, so First Man told them to go and bring the women.

After the women had been brought over the river First Man spoke: "We must be purified," he said. "Everyone must bathe. The men must dry themselves with white corn meal, and the women, with yellow."

This they did, living apart for 4 days. After the fourth day First Woman came and threw her right arm around her husband. She spoke to the others and said that she could see her mistakes, but with her husband's help she would henceforth lead a good life. Then all the male and female beings came and lived with each other again.

The people moved to different parts of the land. Some time passed; then First Woman became troubled by the monotony of life. She made a plan. She went to Atse'hashke, the Coyote called First Angry, and giving him the rainbow she said: "I have suffered greatly in the past. I have suffered from want of meat and corn and clothing. Many of my maidens have died. I have suffered many things. Take the rainbow and go to the place where the rivers cross. Bring me the two pretty children of Tqo holt sodi, the Water Buffalo, a boy and a girl.

The Coyote agreed to do this. He walked over the rainbow. He entered the home of the Water Buffalo and stole the two children; and these he hid in his big skin coat with the white fur lining. And when he returned he refused to take off his coat, but pulled it around himself and looked very wise.

After this happened the people saw white light in the East and in the South and West and North. One of the deer people ran to the East, and returning, said that the white light was a great sheet of water. The sparrow hawk flew to the South, the great hawk to the West, and the kingfisher to the North. They returned and said that a flood was coming. The kingfisher said that the water was greater in the North, and that it was near.

The flood was coming and the Earth was sinking. And all this happened because the Coyote had stolen the two children of the Water Buffalo, and only First Woman and the Coyote knew the truth.

When First Man learned of the coming of the water he sent word to all the people, and he told them to come to the mountain called Sis na'jin. He told them to bring with them all of the seeds of the plants used for food. All living beings were to gather on the top of Sis na'jin. First Man traveled to the six sacred mountains, and, gathering earth from them, he put it in his medicine bag.

The water rose steadily.

When all the people were halfway up Sis na'jin, First Man discovered that he had forgotten his medicine bag. Now this bag contained not only the earth from the six sacred mountains, but his magic, the medicine he used to call the rain down upon the earth and to make things grow. He could not live without his medicine bag, and he wished to jump into the rising water; but the others begged him not to do this. They went to the kingfisher and asked him to dive into the water and recover the bag. This the bird did. When First Man had his medicine bag again in his possession he breathed on it four times and thanked his people.

When they had all arrived it was found that the Turquoise Boy had brought with him the big Male Reed; and the White Shell Girl had brought with her the big Female Reed. Another person brought poison ivy; and another, cotton, which was later used for cloth. This person was the spider. First Man had with him his spruce tree which he planted on the top of Sis na'jin. He used his fox medicine to make it grow; but the spruce tree began to send out branches and to taper at the top, so First Man planted the big Male Reed. All the people blew on it, and it grew and grew until it reached the canopy of the sky. They tried to blow inside the reed, but it was solid. They asked the woodpecker to drill out the hard heart. Soon they were able to peek through the opening, but they had to blow and blow before it was large enough to

climb through. They climbed up inside the big male reed, and after them the water continued to rise.

The Fourth World:

When the people reached the Fourth World they saw that it was not a very large place. Some say that it was called the White World; but not all medicine men agree that this is so.

The last person to crawl through the reed was the turkey from Gray Mountain. His feather coat was flecked with foam, for after him came the water. And with the water came the female Water Buffalo who pushed her head through the opening in the reed. She had a great quantity of curly hair which floated on the water, and she had two horns, half black and half yellow. From the tips of the horns the lightning flashed.

First Man asked the Water Buffalo why she had come and why she had sent the flood. She said nothing. Then the Coyote drew the two babies from his coat and said that it was, perhaps, because of them.

The Turquoise Boy took a basket and filled it with turquoise. On top of the turquoise he placed the blue pollen, *tha'di'thee do tlij*, from the blue flowers, and the yellow pollen from the corn; and on top of these he placed the pollen from the water flags, *tquel aqa'di din*; and again on top of these he placed the crystal, which is river pollen. This basket he gave to the Coyote who put it between the horns of the Water Buffalo. The Coyote said that with this sacred offering he would give back the male child. He said that the male child would be known as the Black Cloud or Male Rain, and that he would bring the thunder and lightning. The female child he would keep. She would be known as the Blue, Yellow, and White Clouds or Female Rain. She would be the

gentle rain that would moisten the earth and help them to live. So he kept the female child, and he placed the male child on the sacred basket between the horns of the Water Buffalo. And the Water Buffalo disappeared, and the waters with her.

After the water sank there appeared another person. They did not know him, and they asked him where he had come from. He told them that he was the badger, nahashch'id, and that he had been formed where the Yellow Cloud had touched the Earth. Afterward this Yellow Cloud turned out to be a sunbeam.

The Fifth World:

First Man was not satisfied with the Fourth World. It was a small, barren land; and the great water had soaked the earth and made the sowing of seeds impossible. He planted the big Female Reed and it grew up to the vaulted roof of this Fourth World. First Man sent the newcomer, the badger, up inside the reed, but before he reached the upper world water began to drip, so he returned and said that he was frightened.

At this time there came another strange being. First Man asked him where he had been formed, and he told him that he had come from the Earth itself. This was the locust. He said that it was now his turn to do something, and he offered to climb up the reed.

The locust made a headband of a little reed, and on his forehead he crossed two arrows. These arrows were dressed with yellow tail feathers. With this sacred headdress and the help of all the Holy Beings the locust climbed up to the Fifth World. He dug his way through the reed as he digs in the earth now. He then pushed through the mud until he came to water. When he emerged he saw a black water bird swimming toward him. He had arrows crossed on the

back of his head and big eyes.

The bird said: "What are you doing here? This is not your country." And continuing, he told the locust that unless he could make magic he would not allow him to remain.

The black water bird drew an arrow from back of his head, and shoving it into his mouth drew it out his nether extremity. He inserted it underneath his body and drew it out of his mouth.

"That is nothing," said the locust. He took the arrows from his headband and pulled them both ways through his body, between his shell and his heart. The bird believed that the locust possessed great medicine, and he swam away to the East, taking the water with him.

Then came the blue water bird from the South, and the yellow water bird from the West, and the white water bird from the North, and everything happened as before. The locust performed the magic with his arrows; and when the last water bird had gone he found himself sitting on land.

The locust returned to the lower world and told the people that the beings above had strong medicine, and that he had had great difficulty getting the best of them.

Now two dark clouds and two white clouds rose, and this meant that two nights and two days had passed, for there was still no sun. First Man again sent the badger to the upper world, and he returned covered with mud, terrible mud. First Man gathered chips of turquoise which he offered to the five Chiefs of the Winds who lived in the uppermost world of all. They were pleased with the gift, and they sent down the winds and dried the Fifth World.

First Man and his people saw four dark clouds and four white clouds pass, and then they sent the badger up the reed. This time when the badger returned he said that he had come out on solid earth. So First Man and First Woman led the people to the Fifth World, which some call the Many Colored Earth and some the Changeable Earth. They emerged through a lake surrounded by four mountains. The water bubbles in this lake when anyone goes near.

Now after-all the people had emerged from the lower worlds First Man and First Woman dressed the Mountain Lion with yellow, black, white, and greyish corn and placed him on one side. They dressed the Wolf with white tail feathers and placed him on the other side. They divided the people into two groups. The first group was told to choose whichever chief they wished. They made their choice, and, although they thought they had chosen the Mountain Lion, they found that they had taken the Wolf for their chief. The Mountain Lion was the chief for the other side. And these people who had the Mountain Lion for their chief turned out to be the people of the Earth. They were to plant seeds and harvest corn. The followers of the Wolf chief became the animals and birds; they turned into all the creatures that fly and crawl and run and swim.

And after all the beings were divided, and each had his own form, they went their ways.

This is the story of the Four Dark Worlds and the Fifth, the World we live in. Some medicine men tell us that there are two worlds above us, the first is the World of the Spirits of Living Things, the second is the Place of Melting into One.

The Order of Things, or The Age of Animal Heroes

The Coming of Death and Life²:

Now the earth, which had been stretched, became solid, and the rivers flowed. Trees grew along the banks of the rivers and flowers grew at the foot of the mountains with the rocks and the cliffs and other trees above them. The Mother Earth was very beautiful.

But just when everything on the earth was good and beautiful the people saw the first death. They remembered what the Sun had said. He had claimed the lives of all the living in payment for his light. The people wondered where the dead would go. "Is there another country?" they asked among themselves.

Now there came two beings called Alke'na ashi, Made Again, who looked like the Yei. They were sent to the East to look for the dead body. They returned and said that they had not seen it. They were sent to the South and they brought back the same report. They were sent to the West and the North without success. They were asked to look into the Yellow World where they had come from. As they were about to start they felt the flesh around their knees pinched; but they went on. They had a strange feeling of sound, like a rale, in their throats. They felt rather than heard this sound, but they went on. Then there was a sensation in their noses, like an odor, but they went on to the place of emergence, and they looked down. Way below them there was someone combing his hair. He looked up and gave a little whistle, and they both experienced a strange feeling.

When the Alke'na ashi returned from the lower world they said that they had seen the spirit of the one who had died. They told just what they had felt and seen.

²O'Bryan 1956: 30-32

They warned the others saying that they must not try to return to the Country of the Past for it was not well to experience such sensations nor to see such things; and if in the future someone were to hear a whistle when no one was about that whistle came from an evil source, and a prayer should be said at once. If anyone should be as unfortunate as to see their double, or the form of a near relative in a vision, it would be a sign that dangerous things were about to befall them. Should this happen a chant must be held and prayers said in order to ward off the trouble.

The First People thought a great deal about this person's dying.

It had been First Man's and First Woman's plan to have everyone live forever. There was to have been no death. They could not understand this thing; and they were not satisfied.

First Man and First Woman got a piece of hard, black wood. They made a smooth pole of it, and pointed it, as an arrow is pointed.

Its length was the distance from a tall man's fingertip to his heart. After this pole was fashioned they dressed it; and they carried it on their shoulders to a lake. It was their plan to cast it into the water, and if the pole floated to the shore there would be no death; but if it sank down into the water, then death would remain. Now just as they raised it to cast it into the water the Coyote came to them. They saw that he carried a big stone ax. As they cast the pole into the water he threw the stone ax, saying: "Unless this stone ax returns to the surface there will be death." Now the stone ax remained in the lake, but the pole which First Man and First Woman had shaped and dressed returned to the shore. So it was decided that, although there would be death among the people of the earth, sometimes the very ill would recover because the log had floated back to the shore.

Old Age and Illness³:

First Man and First Woman had planned what was best for the sky and the earth and the people. And in the beginning whatever they planned became a fact; but after the Coyote interfered there were others who wished to have a part in the scheme of how the people should live.

The people's hair was to remain black. No one thought that the beings were to grow old. But there came a bird with a white head who said: "My grandchildren, look here, I am turning gray; I am growing old." This person was tsish'gai, the nut hatch; and after he had spoken old age descended upon many and their hair turned gray.

The people of the earth had been given strong white corn for teeth. They were made strong, solid and clean; and the plan was that they should remain so forever. But there came Old Man Gopher, Hastin Naazisi, with his face badly swollen for he was in great pain. "Oh, my grandchildren," he groaned, "I have a toothache. Pull my bad teeth for me." So they pulled the bad teeth, and only two remained that were really good. After that time it became a fact that people suffered from toothache, that teeth became old and worn.

So far there had been no babies born as they are now born. This was the plan. But a small bird with a red breast came and said: "My grandchildren, look at the blood that comes from me." It was a monthly occurrence after that, and it came to all female beings. The bird was chishgahi, the robin.

³O'Bryan 1956: 32

The Wanderings or Age of the Patriarchs

The Story of the Navajo and the Apache Peoples⁴:

Now that the horses were given to the people, and there were a great many people in the land, they commenced to crowd each other. Some of the people wanted to go to war over the slightest thing. They taught their children to be quarrelsome; they were not raising them in the right way. They did not have peace in their hearts. At this time there appeared in the country many plants with thorns, in fact these were more numerous than any other kind of plant. Even the grass became sharp and spiked. It was because of the people's ill nature, and the plants and the grass, that another plan was formed.

This time Hasjesjini, the Yei of all the burning minerals in the earth, started a great fire. All the red rocks that we see now burned then. After this the Apache and several other tribes moved eastward. And a number of years after the great fire plants grew again, and this time without thorns. They were better and less harmful.

Again there were four chiefs of the Dine. The first was Tan jet gaeye; the second, Atsel gaeye; the third chief was Yot aysel gaeye; and there was a fourth whose name has been forgotten. They began to wonder where the other people were who had traveled toward the East. The four chiefs, with some of their men and their wives, started out to find them; but they left the children with those others who remained at home. They headed East, camping here and there. They always sent out scouts. They hunted and made their clothing and moccasins of buckskin. After 2 years they found where a fire had been made, and they wondered if the fire had been made by some of their own people. Then they found water. Whenever they found a spring they camped,

⁴O'Bryan 1956: 181-85

and from there they sent the scouts out in different directions.

One day a scout reported having seen the track of a man. They moved to the next spring, and they saw two tracks. The first track was a very old one. They tried to follow it, but they had to abandon it. However the fresh tracks led them to a spring in a rock, a little wall of rock, so they moved there and camped.

Two scouts were sent out from there. They came to a narrow canyon and they saw water in the bottom. They found a place where they could descend; so the scouts let a buckskin rope down into this canyon, and with its aid, they climbed down to the water and camped at the water's edge. The two men stayed there over night. They had been away from their party for 2 days. When they returned they reported having seen plain tracks of a man of their own people. The scouts told also of having seen plenty of seeds of plants which are used for food. And there was water, and it was near the water that they had seen the tracks. So they all moved to this place and camped.

After this happened the four chiefs sent three men out. They returned and reported having seen smoke rising up in the distance. The following day the four chiefs sent four men out, each with two quivers full of arrows. The scouts were told to be careful when they neared the other people's camp, to stay hidden until dark, and then for one man only to go into the camp. When the men got to within sight of the camp, two went on and two stayed behind. Then one stayed just outside and one went in. It was very dark, but he could see the light of the fires. He was making his way slowly, like a mountain lion after its prey, when he touched something that rattled. He reached around and found that he was in a cornfield, and that the corn had been visited by frost. After he went on for a little while he heard someone call, and everyone went over and entered a dwelling.

Then this scout heard different ones coming from different directions. The language that they spoke was his own language. So he left his bow and arrows behind and went into the dwelling with the rest. He began to be noticed. Men whispered to each other. The head man, who had been out that day, told the others what he had seen, where the game was plentiful, etc. At last he said: "That is all now. Where is that stranger you told about?" And one man spoke: "Now we will have a fresh scalp to dance by." But the chief said: "No. Place him here in the center, this stranger who is among us." So he was placed in the center of the room; and he was asked where he was from.

"I am from Nlth san dzil naa' dine, the range of Rain Mountains, Yote dzil naa'dine, the range of Beautiful Goods Mountains, Nitlez dzil naa'dine, the range of Mixed Stones Mountains, and Tqate dine dzil, the range of Pollen Mountains, and from the place where the Dîné came up from the lower world."

Then the chief spoke angrily to his people. "I have always said to be careful in whatever you do or whatever you say. What little you know is at the end of your tongue when it should be in your head." He said this because of the one who had spoken of the fresh scalp.

Then the scout told of his people who were coming, and he named his chiefs, Tan jet gaeye, Atsel gaeye, Yot aysel gaeye, and the last whose name is forgotten. Those were the four chiefs bringing with them a company of men and women. He told them to what clans the different ones belonged. Then the people in the dwelling spoke up and said: "I belong to that clan." "I belong to that clan."

Then the chief said: "Your people must join us tomorrow and make their

camp with us."

Now the reason of their being together was because they were holding a Hail Ceremony, Nloae. They made ready and they began the chant. Soon the scout of the Dîné sang a chant. Different men nodded their heads and the chief said that it was correct. So he was given a drumstick with which to pound the overturned basket drum. After that he pounded the basket and led the chant all night. In the morning he took the basket and went out and got his bow and arrows and left. He joined his friends who were patiently awaiting his return.

Then the people from this country joined the people whom they had been searching for and had overtaken. When they came into the camp the people of the different clans came together and hugged each other and shook hands. They all lived there that winter and the next summer and for another winter. Then the people who had come last begged the first people to move back with them to the center of the earth. But the people who had moved to the East said: "Our new country here is good. We have no worry. It makes our whole body sick to think of all the griefs that happened back there. We do not want to return to a country where there is nothing but trouble."

Toward the middle of the second summer, being of two minds, they started to quarrel. The Dîné with the four chiefs decided to return. They said: "You can stay here forever now. And if we ever see each other again there will be a change upon earth." (Meaning that they would be enemies should they meet again.)

Then the other people said: "Start out for your home in your own country if you like. But your chiefs will never reach there. "So they called to each other

bitterly, and they split.

Now one of the chiefs was struck by lightning; one of them was drowned while crossing a river; one was bitten by a snake and died; and the other went out and was frozen to death.

When the rest of the party got back to the edge of the mountains, the eastern end of the range, they found more of their people living there. They were the Apache. After a time some of them left and went south to a country where there was much wood. They sent to the people on the plains asking them to join them. They said that they had found a place where there was a lot of wood. But the people of the plains said: "All you ever say or think of is wood, chiz. You will be called Chizgee." Then the people on the mountain said to the Chizgee: "Come up to the mountain where it is cool." But the Chizgee liked their own place, and said: "All the words that you use are of the mountain top. You will be called Dzil an'ee, Mountain Top."

Then the traveling Dîné reached Dzil na'odili, the mesa near Farmington, and they planted their corn there, and they lived there.

The Apache came and camped with them when the corn was ripe, and they carried corn home with them. The following year, when the corn was ripe, they came again. Their language was slightly different, but they could understand each other. They said: "My friend, Dîné, at this time of the year everything is ripe. My friend Dîné will be called Anelth an'e', The People that Ripen."

So the Navaho are the People Who Ripen to the Apache. They were called the Apache of the Green Fields, or Apaches del Navajo. The Apache have the Night Chants and many other chants that are the same as those of the Navaho.

The Apache like to have their young girls marry Navaho; and many Navaho men marry them.

After the great fire spread over the country, the people went in different directions, and most of them were never seen again. They have never wanted to return to this country. So that was how the Dîné scattered. They moved this way and that, large parties and single families. They joined other tribes or settled by themselves, but many were lost.

So the People who started from the world below came up to this White World, and they have gone in all different directions. They were made here in the center of the earth as one people. Now they are known as Indians wherever they are.